THE BATTLE OF APRIL 19, 1775

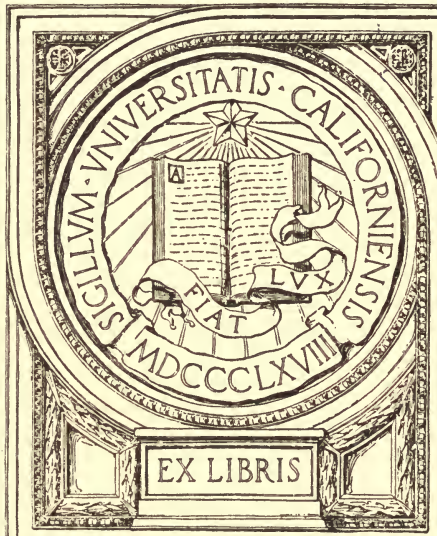
IN

LEXINGTON, CONCORD, LINCOLN, ARLINGTON, CAMBRIDGE, SOMERVILLE AND CHARLESTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS.

BY

FRANK WARREN COBURN.

GIFT OF
MARY JVCKSCH



MAJOR JOHN PITCAIRN.

BY WHOSE ORDER THE OPENING VOLLEY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS FIRED.

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MASSACHUSETTS.

BY

FRANK WARREN COBURN.

LEXINGTON, MASS., U. S. A.,
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1912.

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GIFT OF
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DEDICATION.

TO MY SON:

CHARLES LYMAN COBURN,

A NATIVE OF LEXINGTON.

257712

PREFACE.

There have been many histories of the Battle of Lexington and of the Battle of Concord, some of them excellent to the extent of that part of the contest to which they were devoted. From time to time gifted orators have gone to the one town or to the other, and eloquently portrayed the heroic deeds of men within that town on the opening day of the American Revolution. No fault should be found with any of those, designed as a healthy stimulus to local pride, and to foster sentiments of national patriotism.

But the student in American local history needs a more extensive view of the operations of that day. He needs to be better informed as to the various scenes of carnage that were waged along all of those nearly twenty miles of highway. Men were slain in Lexington, and in Concord; but there were many others slain in Lincoln, in Arlington, in Cambridge, and in Somerville. Nor should we forget the youngest martyr of the day, but fourteen years of age, who fell in Charlestown.

For the purpose, then, of presenting to such as may be interested, I have assembled here the most comprehensive account that has ever been

offered, and one that aims to be a history of the entire day. I have endeavored to make it not only complete and interesting, but just and reliable, recognizing fully the rights of my own ancestors to rebel, and also recognizing the rights of the mother country to prevent such rebellion — even by an appeal to arms. Since those days we have grown to be a mother country ourselves, and have had reason, on more than one occasion, to exercise that accepted right of parental control.

This narrative is based upon official reports, sworn statements, diaries, letters, and narratives of participants and witnesses; upon accounts of local historians and national orators; and, in a few cases, upon tradition, if such seemed authentic and trustworthy.

But I am sorry to say, that in more than one instance, I have found even the sworn statements at variance with each other. I am satisfied that the authors did not intend to mislead in any way, but simply tried to tell to others what appeared to them. Their mental excitement naturally added a little of that vivid coloring noticeable in most war narratives of a personal nature. My work has been to harmonize and simplify these, and to extract simply the truth.

In 1775 the greater part of the present town of Arlington was a part of Cambridge, and known

as the Menotomy Precinct. Later it was incorporated as a separate town and called West Cambridge. Later still its name was changed to Arlington. Somerville, in that year, was a part of Charlestown. What remained of Charlestown eventually became a part of Boston, though still retaining its ancient name. In writing of the events that happened within the boundaries of each, I shall speak of them as of Arlington, of Somerville, and of Charlestown.

I am glad to add that the bitterness and hatred, so much in evidence on that long-ago battle day, no longer exist between the children of the great British Nation.

FRANK WARREN COBURN.

Lexington Mass., April 19, 1912.

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Major John Pitcairn . . facing title

Copied from a rare miniature in the possession of the Lexington Historical Society, and published in this work by their permission.

The Doolittle Pictures.

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PLATE IV. A VIEW OF THE SOUTH PART OF LEXINGTON . . . facing page 122

The Amos Doolittle Pictures of Lexington and Concord, copperplate engravings, size about 12 x 18 inches, and hand-colored, were originally published by James Lockwood in New Haven, December 13, 1775. The drawings were made by Mr. Earl, a portrait painter, and the engravings therefrom were by Amos Doolittle. Both were members of the Governor's Guard, and came on to Cambridge as volunteers under Benedict Arnold immediately after the battle of April 19th, and soon after commenced these early specimens of American art. The student of today prizes them, not for their artistic excellence, but for their faithfulness in depicting the scenery, buildings, and troops engaged.

In the *Book Buyer* for January, 1898, is an illustrated article on Early American Copperplate Engraving, by William Loring Andrews. I am indebted to him, and to the publishers, Charles Scribners' Sons, for permission to copy the Doolittle set for this work.

HUGH EARL PERCY . . facing page 114

From a contemporary copperplate engraving published by John Fielding. London, 1785.

GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH, facing page 154

From a portrait in *Harper's Magazine*, October, 1883, and copied for publication in this work by permission of Harper & Brothers.

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Copied from part of the map to illustrate the Siege of Boston in Marshall's Life of Washington, and dated 1806. I have made slight additions to indicate Smith's and Percy's movements.

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THE BATTLE OF APRIL 19, 1775.

IN PARLIAMENT.

The Treaty of Peace signed at Paris, Feb. 10, 1763, terminated the prolonged struggle between England and France, for supremacy in the New World. For seven long years it had lasted, and its cost had been treasure and bood. Justly proud were the British Colonies of the martial success of their mother country, a goodly part of which they had valorously won themselves.

During the war, and at its close, England had been generous in remitting to the Colonial Treasuries large sums in partial liquidation of the war expenses advanced by them; but subsequently it was esteemed wise, by a majority of her statesmen, to gradually replace such sums in the royal coffers, by a system of colonial taxation very similar to modern methods of raising war revenues. In the abstract this fact was not particularly disagreeable to the colonists, for the necessity was admitted, but the arbitrary method of levying those taxes was bitterly contested.

England's Parliament claimed the right to tax the distant Colonies even as it taxed the neighboring Boroughs, and as a commencement of its financial plan enacted a Stamp Act, so called, to take effect Nov. 1, 1765, similar in intent and working, to the modern revenue stamp of our Government. These stamps were to be purchased of the Crown's officers and affixed to

certain articles of merchandise and in denominations according to a schedule of taxable value.

The opposition to this Act was immediate, continuous, and bitter in the extreme, and the result was that it was repealed March 18, 1766.

The next move on the part of the Mother Country was the passage of a Military Act which provided for the partial subsistence of armed troops on the Colonies. Violent opposition to this was also immediate and general, but without avail. In Boston one result was a conflict between the troops and the inhabitants on March 5, 1770, and now referred to as the Boston Massacre.

In June, 1767, another Act was passed, taxing tea and other commodities, which was repealed April 12, 1770, on all articles except the tea. Large consignments were sent to America. Ships thus laden that arrived in New York were sent back with their full cargoes. At Charleston the tea was landed but remained unsold. At Boston, a party disguised as Indians threw it from the ship into the sea.* Parliament in consequence passed the Boston Port Bill, March 7, 1774, closing Boston as a commercial port, and removing the Custom House to Salem in another harbor a dozen miles or more northward up the coast.

This Act went into effect June 1, 1774, and was immediately felt by all classes, for all commerce ceased. Boston merchants became poor, and Boston poor became beggars. The hand of relief, however, was extended, even from beyond

* In a little cemetery at West Fairlee, Vt., is a memorial stone which reads "Wm. Cox, died July 27, 1838, Aged 88. He helped steep the tea in the Atlantic." His name seems to have been overlooked by historians, so I mention it here.

the sea. The City of London in its corporate capacity subscribed £30,000*. In America the assistance was liberal and speedy. George Washington headed a subscription paper with £50†.

These severe measures of Parliament, with their natural effect of ruin and starvation among the people of America, served to stimulate a feeling of insubordination, and hatred of the Mother Country, from which crystalized the First Continental Congress which assembled at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774, soon followed by the First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts which met at Salem, Oct. 7, of the same year.

On the question of Colonial Government Great Britain and her American colonies were not divided by the Atlantic Ocean, for on the American side the Crown had its ardent supporters, while on the other side friends of the American cause were almost as numerous as were the oppressors. We have seen how the great City of London contributed liberally to the Bostonians, shut off from the world by the Port Bill, and on the floor of Parliament many gifted orators espoused the American cause.

With prophetic eloquence the Lord Mayor, Mr. Wilkes, exclaimed:

"This I know, a successful resistance is a revolution, not a rebellion . . . Who can tell, sir, whether in consequence of this day's violent and mad Address to his Majesty, the scabbard may not be thrown away by them as well as by us? . . . But I hope the just vengeance of the people will overtake the authors of these per-

* Lossing's History of the United States, page 226.

† Frothingham's Rise of the Republic, page 326.

nicious councils, and the loss of the first province of the empire be speedily followed by the loss of the heads of those ministers who advised these wicked and fatal measures."*

Lord Chatham in his motion to withdraw the troops from Boston, said:

"As an American I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation: as an Englishman by birth and principle I recognize to the Americans their supreme unalienable right in their property; a right in which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity."†

The Corporation of the City of London passed a vote of thanks to Chatham, and to those who supported him for having offered to the House of Lords a plan to conciliate the differences with America.‡

When Lord North's unfriendly proposition for conciliating America was introduced, it naturally found an advocate in the loyal and courtly Gen. Burgoyne — courtly but courageous; loyal ever to his King but not blind to the merits of the claims of the Colonists. While modestly pledging his loyalty to the Crown, he could not refrain from adding:

"There is a charm in the very wanderings and dreams of liberty that disarms an Englishman's anger."**

In the debate on the bill for restraining the Trade and Commerce of the English Colonies, Lord Camden asked: —

* Hansard's Parliamentary History, XVIII, cols. 238, 240.
† Hansard's Parliamentary History, XVIII, col. 154.
‡ Hansard's Parliamentary History, XVIII, col. 215.
** Hansard's Parliamentary History, XVIII, col. 355.

"What are the 10,000 men you have just voted out to Boston? Merely to save General Gage from the disgrace and destruction of being sacked in his entrenchments. It is obvious, my Lords, that you cannot furnish armies or treasure, competent to the mighty purpose of subduing America. . . . It is impossible that this petty island can continue in dependence that mighty continent."*

Continuing, he drew a picture of American union and American courage, that in the end would prevail.

The Earl of Sandwich replied: —

"Suppose the colonists do abound in men, what does that signify? They are raw, undisciplined, cowardly men. I wish instead of 40 or 50,000 of these brave fellows, they would produce in the field at least 200,000, the more the better, the easier would be the conquest; if they did not run away, they would starve themselves into compliance with our measures."†

And the Bill was passed.

One has but to read the stirring debates of that memorable year in Parliament, over the Petitions for Redress of Grievances from America; over the Petitions for Reconciliation from the Merchants of Bristol and of London; over the Resolutions offered by its own members; and over the addresses to them by their King; — to realize that the great question of American rights had almost as many, and surely as eloquent advocates, there as here.

THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

As we have seen, the First Continental Con-

* Hansard's Parliamentary History, XVIII, cols. 442, 443.
† Hansard's Parliamentary History, XVIII, col. 446.

gress assembled at Philadelphia, Sept. 5, 1774. They met in Carpenter's Hall. The First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts met at Salem, Oct. 7, following. John Hancock was chosen President. In its first set of Resolutions it announced: "the necessity of its most vigorous and immediate exertions for preserving the freedom and constitution," of the Province.

The Royal Governor, Gen. Thos. Gage, had issued his writs the first day of September, calling upon the inhabitants to return representatives to the Great and General Court to be convened at Salem on the fifth of October. In the meantime, becoming alarmed at the tumults and disorders — the extraordinary resolves passed by some of the Counties, the instructions given by Boston and some other towns to their representatives, and the general unhappy condition of the Province, he determined that the time was not auspicious for such a gathering, and accordingly issued a proclamation countermanding the call. However, ninety representatives met on that day, waited loyally for the Governor, and when he failed to appear, adjourned to the next day, Oct. 6, and met as a Convention, choosing John Hancock, Chairman. Not much in the way of business was accomplished on that day, and they adjourned again, until the next, Oct. 7th, when they met and declared themselves to be a Provincial Congress and chose John Hancock, Permanent Chairman.

Thus the First Provincial Congress was, strictly speaking a self-constituted body, with not even the sanction of a popular vote. Yet they felt secure in a popular support. They could not pass laws, but they could resolve, advise and recommend, and such acts were gen-

erally heeded by a majority of their fellow citizens.*

The military organization of the Province was equally without effective power, as they recognized no real commanding officer of higher rank than Colonel. It is true that the Congress had nominated three general officers, but their real powers to command were feeble. The minute men and militia were enrolled by thousands, but they were poorly equipped, without uniforms, and without discipline. They marched to Battle Road in company formation, but upon arrival or very soon after, manœuvred and fought as individuals simply.

The Second Provincial Congress, more nearly an elective body than the First, realized their own lack of authority over the people and particularly over the military branch of their constituents. They wrote to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, under date of May 16, 1775, stating that they were compelled to raise an army; of their triumph at having one consisting of their own countrymen; but they admitted a lack of civil power to provide for, and control it. And they asked for advice from the greater congress which represented all the Colonies as to the taking up and exercising of the necessary powers of a civil government.†

Let us, then, as we go forward with this narrative, bear these facts in mind, that we may not in this very first day of a new nation's struggle

* See their "advice" to constables and to tax collectors Oct. 14, 1774, not to pay moneys collected by them to the royal treasurer of the province, Hon. Harrison Gray (Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 19) and their "recommendation" to towns, Oct. 28, to direct their constables and tax collectors to pay such moneys to their appointee as Receiver General, Henry Gardner (Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 38.)

† Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 230.

for liberty expect too much from those who, indeed had the wisdom, had the strength, had the courage and the skill, but greatly lacked the first elements of a civil government or a military force — discipline and efficiency.

The First Provincial Congress next met in Concord, Oct. 11, 1774. Hancock was chosen President, an office higher than Permanent Chairman. Several following days were devoted to public business. From there they addressed a communication to Gen. Gage, wherein they expressed the apprehensions excited in their minds by the rigorous execution of the Port Bill; by the alteration of the Charter; by the administration of justice in the Colony; by the number of troops in the capital [Boston]; and particularly by the formidable and hostile preparations on Boston Neck. And they asked, rather pointedly, "whether an inattentive and unconcerned acquiescence in such alarming, and menacing measures would not evidence a state of insanity?" They entreated him to reduce the fortress at the entrance to Boston, and concluded by assuring his Excellency that they had not the least intention of doing any harm to his Majesty's troops.*

Four days later, Oct. 17, sitting at Cambridge, they received his reply. It was altogether lacking in satisfaction. He answered them as to the fortification on Boston Neck, that "unless annoyed," it would "annoy nobody." And the rest of his communication was equally unassuring.

Oct. 19, a committee was appointed to inquire into the then present state and operations

* Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass., page 18.

of the British Army;* and on Oct. 20, another committee to report on what was necessary to be done for the safety and defence of the Province.†

Matters were crystallizing very fast, for on Oct. 24, a committee was appointed to consider and report on the most proper time for the Province to provide a stock of powder, ordnance and ordnance stores. That same afternoon, one of the members, Mr. Bliss, was ordered to wait upon the Committee to ascertain their reply. They quickly responded that their opinion was that "*now*" was the proper time to procure such a stock.‡ Another committee was at once appointed to take into consideration and determine the quantity and expense thereof.**

On the afternoon of the following day, Oct. 25, the schedule was presented to the Congress and one of its items called for 1000 barrels of powder, and the proposed expense was £10,737. Items were added by the Congress to increase the amount to £20,837. It was likewise ordered "that all the matters which shall come under consideration before this Congress be kept secret."††

Oct. 26, it was resolved that a Committee of Safety should be appointed, whose business it should be "most carefully and diligently to inspect and observe all and every such person and persons as shall at any time, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of this province." And they

* Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass., page 22.
† Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass., page 23.
‡ Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass., page 29.
** Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 29.
†† Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 30.

should have the power to alarm, muster and cause to be assembled with the utmost expedition and completely armed for the defence, such of the militia as they shall deem necessary for its defence.* And it was also resolved that as the security of the lives, liberties and properties of these inhabitants depend on their skill in the art military and in their being properly and effectively armed, it was therefore recommended that they immediately provide themselves therewith.†

On Oct. 27, Congress appointed a Committee of Safety consisting of nine members, three from Boston and six from the country, John Hancock, Chairman, and also a Commissary, or Committee of Supplies, consisting of five members.‡ At a subsequent meeting on the same day, Jedidiah Preble was elected to be chief in command and Artemas Ward, second.**

Oct. 27 a vote was passed recommending that the inhabitants perfect themselves in the military art.†† On that same day a committee was appointed to wait upon his excellency the governor to express their surprise at his active warlike preparations, and to announce that their constituents would not expect them to be guided by his advice.‡‡ But before the conclusion of this session another resolution was passed to the effect that the lives and liberties of the inhabitants depended upon their knowledge and skill in the military art.***

* Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 32.
† Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 34.
‡ Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 35.
** Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 35.
†† Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 41.
‡‡ Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 45.
*** Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 48.

The First Provincial Congress was dissolved Dec. 10, 1774, every session of its deliberations having been devoted to the Civil Rights and Liberties of the People over which it had presided.

The Second Provincial Congress was convened in Concord Feb. 1, 1775. One of its earliest acts, Feb. 9, was to appoint Hon. Jedidiah Preble, Hon. Artemas Ward, Col. Seth Pomeroy, Col. John Thomas and Col. William Heath, general officers.* The same day, in an address to the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay they said, "Though we deprecate a rupture with the Mother State, yet we must urge you to every preparation for your necessary defence."†

Nor were the Indians neglected in these strong appeals to the patriotism of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay, for under date of April 1, 1775, an address was issued to Johoiakin Mothskin and the rest of the Indians of Stockbridge, expressing great pleasure that they were "willing to take up the hatchet," and announcing that Col. Paterson and Capt. Goodridge should present each that had enlisted a blanket and a ribbon. A committee was also appointed to address the chief of the Mohawks.‡

The Committee of Safety met for the first time at the house of Capt. Stedman, in Cambridge, Wednesday, Nov. 2, 1774, and organized, as we have stated, with John Hancock, Chairman. John Pigeon was chosen clerk. Their first vote after organization was a recommendation to the Committee of Supplies to procure as soon as may be, 335 barrels of pork, 700 barrels

* Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 90.

† Journals of Each Provincial Congress, page 92.

‡ Journals of each Provincial Congress, pages 116, 117.

of flour, 20 tierces of rice, 300 bushels of peas, and that these be distributed in Worcester and Concord. On Nov. 8, following, in joint meeting with the Committee on Supplies, the latter was advised to procure all of the arms and ammunition possible from the neighboring provinces, and that they might with safety engage to pay for the same on arrival.

At subsequent meetings various military stores were liberally provided. With a unanimous vote on Feb. 21, 1775, by both committees in joint session, it was decided that the Committee of Supplies should purchase all kinds of military stores sufficient for an army of 15,000 men.* It did not then seem to them as if a peaceful solution of the estrangement were longer possible.

The last meeting of the Provincial Congress before the battle, was held in Concord, April 15, and when it adjourned it was until May 10. But considering "the great uncertainty of the present times," it was provided, however, that a call might issue for an earlier assembling. Only two days elapsed before apprehensions of immediate danger arose, which grew so intense, that Richard Devens on the 18th, issued a summons for immediate assembling at Concord. Although it was circulated with the greatest dispatch many of the members could not have learned of it before the marching of the British troops on that same night from Boston Common.

The meeting was finally assembled on April 22, and quickly adjourned to Watertown, evidently to be in closer touch with the thrilling events that had so dramatically opened.†

* Journals of Each Provincial Congress, pages 505, 509.
† Journals of Each Provincial Congress, pages 146-7.

BRITISH FORCES IN BOSTON.

General Thomas Gage, Commander of the British forces in America, and successor of Thomas Hutchinson as Governor of Massachusetts Bay, landed in Boston, May 13, 1774. Inspired by a hope that his administration might soften the feeling of resentment against the Mother Country, by annulling some of its causes, his reception on the 17th was dignified and cordial. He was greeted with cheers by the multitude, the firing of salutes in his honor, and a lavish banquet in Faneuil Hall.* A few weeks before he had assured his king that the Americans "will be lions while we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part they will prove very weak."†

His military force then in Boston was less than 4,000 men,‡ and consisted of the Fourth or King's Own; Fifth; Tenth; Seventeenth: 3 Companies of the Eighteenth; Twenty-second; Twenty-third; Thirty-eighth; Forty-third; Forty-fourth; Forty-seventh; Fifty-second; Fifty-ninth; Sixty-third; Sixty-fourth; six or eight Companies of Artillery; and six or eight Companies of Marines, numbering 460, under Major Pitcairn.**

* Frothingham's Rise of the Republic of the U. S., page 330.
† Frothingham's Rise of the Republic of the U. S., page 318.
‡ Hale in Memorial History of Boston, III, 79.
** This list I make up from a document from among the Swett papers, and an article in the Atlantic Monthly, April, 1877, entitled A British Officer in Boston in 1775. The Swett MSS. is interesting as giving the distinctive uniforms as follows:

Fourth or King's Own, red faced with white; 5th, Lord Percy, red faced with blue; 10th, red faced with green; 17th, Light Dragoons, red faced with yellow; 22d, Gen. Gage, red faced with white; 23d, Gen. Howe, red faced with blue; 38th, Gen. Piget, red faced with yellow; 43rd, red faced with light buff; 44th, red faced with yellow; 52d, red faced with white; 59th, called the Pompadours, red faced with crimson; 63d, red faced with yellow; 64th, red faced with black; artillery, blue faced with red; Marines, red faced with white.

Some of these were encamped on the Common.

Major Gen. Heath is the authority for the statement that the Provincial Congress appointed a committee to make inquiry into the state of operation of the British Army in Boston, and on the 20th of March, they reported that there were about 2,850 men distributed as follows: Boston Common, about 1,700; Fort Hill, 400; Boston Neck, 340; in Barracks at the Castle, about 330; King Street, 80; that they were erecting works at Boston Neck on both sides of the way, well constructed and well executed. The works were in forwardness and mounted with ten brass and two iron cannon. The old fortification at the entrance of the town was replaced and rendered much stronger by the addition of timber and earth to the parapet, and ten pieces of iron cannon were mounted on the old platform. A block house had been brought from Governor's Island and was being erected on the south side of the Neck.*

But a short time was required to show that in every political question Gen. Gage was loyal to his king. Accordingly throughout the Province the press, the pulpit, the expression of opinion in public meetings, while professing loyalty to the king personally, were extremely bitter against his representative in command.

Conventions were held in the various Counties of the Province, the earliest one being in Berkshire County, July 6, 1774, followed by the one in Worcester County, Aug. 9. Resolutions were passed at each, professing loyalty to the king, but remonstrating strongly against Parliament. It was left for the Middlesex County

* Heath's Memoirs, written by himself. Boston, 1798. Page 11.

Convention, August 30, to pass resolutions that rang throughout the Province. While also professing loyalty to the King their final sentence was:

"No danger shall affright, no difficulties intimidate us; and if in support of our rights we are called to encounter even death, we are yet undaunted, sensible that he can never die too soon, who lays down his life in support of the laws and liberty of his country."

These resolutions were passed by a vote of 146 yeas against 4 nays.*

Although the town of Boston itself was the headquarters of Gen. Gage, and his soldiers were parading in its streets, and encamping on its Common, the patriots had by no means deserted it. There were several secret societies who made it their business to watch for and report hostile movements and plans. These were the "North End Caucus;" the "South End Caucus;" the "Middle District Caucus;" and the "Long Room Club;" all of which owned allegiance to the "Sons of Liberty," a body which acted in the capacity of a higher council and which kept itself in close communication with similar organizations outside of this Province. Members of these various bodies paraded the streets nightly, that any sudden or unusual movement of the army might be at once reported. Paul Revere belonged to one or more of these, and was active in patriotic work.

Nor was Gen. Gage idle in acquiring information about the Provincial Army being assembled, and the topographical features of the country around Boston. His troops were especially

* Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass., page 114.

trained by marches, over the highways in the vicinity,* and his spies brought him maps and reports from the scenes of his possible future operations. The two that acted for him in this secret service were Capt. Brown of the 52nd regiment, and Ensign D'Bernicre of the 10th regiment. They were disguised in "brown clothes" with "reddish handkerchiefs" tied about their necks, and were accompanied by a servant. All three were well armed.

Gen. Gage's instructions to them, under date of Feb. 22, 1775, called for description of the roads, rivers, and hills; available places for encampments; whether or not the churches and church yards were advantageous spots to take post in and capable of being made defensible. They were also told that information would be useful in reference to the provisions, forage, etc., that could be obtained at the several places they should pass through.

Their first trip was to Worcester, in the latter part of February, and their next one to Concord, for which place they set out on March 20, passing through Roxbury, Brookline, and Weston, where they stopped at the Jones Tavern.

Then they proceeded through Sudbury, crossed over the South Bridge into Concord village, where they were entertained by a Mr. Bliss, a friend of the royal government.

Wherever they went their mission was known in spite of their disguises. They succeeded,

* Rev. Mr. Gordon, of Roxbury, wrote a very interesting account of the commencement of hostilities which was published in the North American Almanack for 1776. He speaks of one of their practice marches, on March 30, when about 100 men marched to Jamaica Plain, by way of Dorchester and back to Boston, about five miles. On this particular march the soldiers amused themselves by pushing over stone walls

however, in bringing back to Gen. Gage a very tolerable description of the country, and so fulfilled their mission. In Concord, especially, they located many of the provincial military stores, information particularly useful to the invading force on April 19th.

Having thus possessed himself of sufficient data, Gen. Gage then laid his plans for a midnight march to Lexington and Concord with the view, possibly, of capturing Hancock and Adams, who were known to be at the former place, and especially of destroying all the warlike supplies that had been gathered at Concord.

April 15, the grenadiers and light infantry had been relieved from duty, with the excuse that they were to learn a new exercise. That night, about twelve o'clock, boats belonging to the transports which had been hauled up for repairs were launched and moored under the sterns of the men-o-war.* The *Somerset* was anchored near the Charlestown Ferry.† These movements awakened the suspicions of Dr. Warren, who lost no time in notifying Hancock and Adams, then at Lexington. On the afternoon of April 18th, he learned from several sources that the British were about to move. A gunsmith named Jasper, learned as much from a British sergeant and lost no time in informing Col. Waters of the Committee of Safety, who in turn gave the news to Warren.‡ John Ballard, connected with the stable in Milk Street, overheard some one in the Province House remark that there would "be hell to pay tomorrow;" a remark so full of significance

* Frothingham's Siege of Boston, page 56.
† Holland, pages 7, 8.
‡ Holland, page 9.

that he reported it to a friend of liberty in Ann Street, thought to have been William Dawes, who in turn reported it to Paul Revere.*

That night Gen. Gage despatched ten or more sergeants, partially disguised, along the highways in Cambridge and beyond, towards Concord. They were instructed to intercept any passers-by, and so prevent his intended movement from becoming known. A party of his officers dined at Wetherby's Tavern† in Menotomy (now Arlington), where also met that day the Committee of Safety and Committee of Supplies, some of whom, Mr. Gerry, Col. Orne and Col. Lee, remained to pass the night.‡

Solomon Brown of Lexington, a young man nineteen years old, was the first to report in that town the unusual occurrence of so many officers along the highways in the night, and it was surmised there that the capture of Hancock and Adams was intended. Brown was returning home from Boston when they passed him on the road. Somehow gaining the front again he rode rapidly into Lexington village and reported what he had seen. Sergeant Munroe and eight men were sent to guard the parsonage where the patriot statesmen were stopping, and Solomon Brown, Jonathan Loring, and Elijah Sanderson, all members of Captain Parker's Company of Minute Men, were despatched to watch the officers after they had passed through Lexington toward Concord. They followed them on horseback into Lincoln, about two

* Holland, page 9.

† Known also as the Black Horse Tavern.

‡ Frothingham, page 10.

Winnisimet
CHARLESTOWN
Little Cove
BOSTON
Dorch
Flat
Brookline
ROXBURY
Redoubt
Fleeting Battery
Long Wharf
Hancocks Wharf
North Battery
Mill Pond
Barton
Redoubt & Fort Work
Redoubt & Fort
Redoubt
Redoubt & Fort Work
Redoubt & Fort
Redoubt
Redoubt
Redoubt

and a half miles from Lexington village, where they were ambushed by the ones they were following, and taken prisoners. It was then about 10 o'clock in the evening of April 18th. They were detained until Revere was also captured at the same place a few hours later, early in the morning of the 19th.

THE BRITISH START FOR LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.

The grenadiers and light infantry under command of Lieut. Col. Francis Smith, of the 10th Regiment, augmented by a detachment of Marines under Major John Pitcairn, assembled at the foot of Boston Common, on the evening of April 18th, and at about half-past ten o'clock embarked for Lechmere Point, or, as it was often called at that time, Phip's Farm, in East Cambridge. They numbered about eight hundred men.*

The "Foot of the Common," was not far from the present corner of Boylston and Charles Streets, and just there was the shore line of the Back Bay, a large body of water opening out into the Charles River. Since then the Bay has been filled in and is now an attractive residential district bearing still its ancient aquatic name however.

The transportation was by means of the row boats connected with the British men-of-war and transports, and was thus necessarily slow, and undoubtedly required several trips. It seems probable that their course was westerly a little way, along the present Boylston Street,

* Frothingham's Siege of Boston.

then northerly along the present Arlington Street, into the Charles River and across to Lechmere Point, a distance of about a mile and a quarter.

They landed in the marshes nearly opposite the Court House on Second Street, for East Cambridge also was much smaller then than now. The water was too shallow to allow the heavily loaded boats to reach dry land, so the troops waded knee deep to the shore. There they were halted in a "dirty road," as one of the British officers present termed it,* and detained still longer, that each might receive a day's rations and thirty-six rounds of ammunition.

THE MESSENGERS OF ALARM.

The invading army safely across the Charles River was now really on its way, but with all its precautions for secrecy, its coming was even at that moment being heralded in every direction. The ever-vigilant Sons of Liberty had noticed the unusual movements of the troops after dark, and so informed Dr. Warren. He quickly summoned William Dawes and Paul Revere. Dawes arriving first was the first to start, and his route to Lexington was through Roxbury. So to him belongs the credit of being the first messenger out of Boston bearing the alarm of the British invasion. Paul Revere came soon after and was carried over the Charles River considerably farther down than the British soldiers were crossing, and landed in Charlestown. His route to Lexington was much shorter than the one through Roxbury.

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* Diary of a British Officer in Boston in 1775.

Dr. Warren had arranged with these two men for this especial work, and so they were ready. Dawes had left home that afternoon, not even confiding to his wife his intention. Immediately after the embarkation he was ready and on his way. He managed to elude the guard at Boston Neck by passing out with some soldiers. His ride was then through Roxbury, Brookline, Brighton, over the Charles River there by bridge into Cambridge, at Harvard Square, and thence directly on to Lexington. So much longer was his route than Revere's, that he did not reach there until half an hour later than Revere did, and then found that Hancock and Adams had been alarmed. The work of William Dawes was efficient over the route he traveled. In Lexington, Revere waited for Dawes, and from there onwards toward Concord they traveled together. It is to be regretted that a more detailed account of the ride of William Dawes cannot be given. But momentary flashes of light reveal his course and his work. Revere left a narrative of his ride, and historians have fallen into the error of supposing him to be the only messenger with the warlike tidings. As we progress with this narrative we shall surmise that William Dawes and Paul Revere were but two out of many, for the exciting news radiated in every direction, and could only have been borne by riders equally as patriotic and fleet as those two.

The previous Sunday evening Paul Revere had been out to Lexington, for a conference with Hancock and Adams, and on his return that same night to Charlestown he had agreed with Col. Conant and some others to display

lanterns in the North Church steeple, if the troops should march; one lantern if they went by land, which meant out over Boston Neck, through Roxbury, Brookline, and Brighton, into Harvard Square, Cambridge ; and two, if they crossed the Charles River in boats and landed at Lechmere Point in East Cambridge. This arrangement was made because it was surmised that no messenger would be allowed to leave Boston with the news while the troops were leaving.

When Revere left Warren his first duty was to call upon Capt. John Pulling, Jr.,* and arrange for the signal lanterns. Then he went to his home in North Square for his boots and surtout, and from there to where his boat was moored beneath a cob-wharf, near the present Craigie Bridge, in the north part of the town. Two friends accompanied him, Joshua Bentley and Thomas Richardson.†

Their point of starting was not far from the then Charlestown Ferry, the boats of which were drawn up nightly at nine o'clock. Out in the Charles River was anchored the *Somerset*, a British man-of-war. It was young flood, and the moon was rising.‡ Fearing that the noise of the oars in the oar-locks might alarm the sentry, Revere despatched one of his companions for something to muffle them with, who soon returned with a petticoat, yet warm from the body of a fair daughter of Liberty who was

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* Boston Sunday Globe, Apr. 19, 1908. Article on Lanterns Hung in the Steeple.

† Goss, E. H., Life of Paul Revere.

‡ Full moon April 15. Moon rose on April 18, at 9.45 P. M. Low's Almanack for 1775.

glad to contribute to the cause.* Rowing out into the river and passing to the eastward of the *Somerset* they looked back and there shining from the tall steeple of Christ Church, the Old North, were two signal lanterns.

Far up into the valleys of the Mystic and the Charles, those twinkling rays gleamed, and their meaning picked up wherever it fell, was carried still farther to the remoter hamlets and villages beyond the hills.

When Capt. Pulling left Paul Revere he proceeded at once to the home of the sexton of Christ Church, Robert Newman, who lived on Salem St., opposite Bennett St. Pulling was vestryman of the church and when he demanded the keys of Newman they were handed to him without question. Pulling proceeded to the church, climbed the belfry stairs, hung two lighted lanterns out of the highest little window, forty-two feet above the sidewalk,† descended and made his exit through a window, and so escaped unnoticed.

These lanterns were seen by all who looked, and quickly British soliders sought out the sexton and placed him under arrest. His denial of any knowledge as to who displayed the lanterns was believed, and he was released. Pulling, disguised as a sailor, escaped from Boston in a fishing vessel, landed in Nantucket, and did not return until after the siege.‡

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* She was an ancestor of John R. Adan, and lived in the Ochterlong-Adan house at the corner of North and North Centre Streets. Goss, Life of Paul Revere.

† Goss, Life of Paul Revere.

‡ Capt. John Pulling, Jr., was son of John and Martha Pulling. Born in Boston, Feb. 18, 1737. Resided on corner of Ann and Cross Streets in 1775. Died in 1787. Goss, Life of Paul Revere.

Revere and his two companions reached the Charlestown shore in safety. Their landing place was near the old battery at Gage's Wharf, not far from No. 85 of the present Water St., near City Square. They were met by Col. Conant and several others, who reported that the lanterns had been seen and interpreted. While Revere was waiting for his horse, which was furnished by Deacon Larkin, Richard Devens, one of the Committee of Safety, came and told Revere that as he came down the road from Lexington after sundown that evening, he met ten British officers, all well mounted and armed, going up the road.

It was about 11 o'clock when Revere started from the Charlestown shore on his mission to alarm. He had intended to proceed over Charlestown Neck, through Somerville to Cambridge and thence to Lexington. Just such a ride as his had been anticipated, for he had gone but a short distance along the Cambridge road beyond Charlestown Neck, when he perceived two mounted British officers halted under the shadows of a tree in a narrow part of the road.* Near by was the gibbet where Mark, the negro slave, executed in 1755 for poisoning his master, hung in chains for about fifteen years.

Revere wheeled his horse and made his escape, retreating along the road to the Neck, then turning into the Mystic road, which runs over Winter Hill into Medford.† There he awakened the Captain of the Minute Men,

* In Somerville on Washington Street, near Crescent Street.
† Now Broadway and Main Street, in Somerville, and Main Street in Medford.

Isaac Hall, and alarmed almost if not every house on the way to Lexington. His road was through West Medford to Arlington Centre, there turning at the Cooper Tavern northwesterly towards Lexington. He reached the parsonage in Lexington at midnight, which then stood on the westerly side of the Bedford Road about a quarter of a mile beyond the Common.* Within were sleeping John Hancock and Samuel Adams. Keeping guard outside were eight men under Sergeant William Munroe, who cautioned Revere not to make too much noise, lest he should awaken the family, who had just retired.

"Noise," exclaimed Revere, "You'll have noise enough before long. The regulars are coming out."

But he had already alarmed the inmates, for the window was raised, and the parson, Mr. Clarke, inquired who was there. Revere, without answering the question, said he wished to see Mr. Hancock.

"Come in, Revere," exclaimed Hancock, who also had been awakened, "we are not afraid of you."

Half an hour later Dawes rode up from his longer ride from Boston.* They partook of refreshments and together set out for Concord. Not far beyond Lexington Common they were overtaken by a young man, Dr. Samuel Prescott, whose home was in Concord. That evening he had been visiting the young lady to whom he was engaged to be married, Miss

* Bedford Road is now called Hancock Street and a newer road to Bedford is called Bedford Street. The old parsonage is still standing, though moved from its original location to a few rods across the street.

† Revere's ride was 12$\frac{88}{99}$ miles and Dawes's ride was 16$\frac{81}{99}$ miles.

Mulliken of Lexington. Revere spoke of the ten officers that Devens had met, and of the probability that they would attempt to stop them before they should reach Concord. It was planned to alarm every house on the way. Dr. Prescott volunteered to remain with the two riders, as his acquaintance with the people along the road might be needed to vouch for the genuineness of the message.

His company was accepted and very welcome. They rode along, alarming each household, a little over two and a half miles from Lexington Common. Dawes and Prescott had stopped at a house to arouse the inmates, and Revere was about a hundred rods ahead, when he saw two men in the highway. He called loudly for Dawes and Prescott to come up, thinking to capture them, but just then two more appeared, coming through the bars from a pasture on the right, or northerly side of the road, where they had been standing in the shadow of a tree. They proved to be officers of the British Army. Dawes wheeled his horse back towards Lexington and escaped. Prescott and Revere attempted to ride towards Concord, but were intercepted and ordered to move through the bars into the pasture or have their brains blown out. They preferred to do as ordered, but when a little way inside, Prescott said to Revere, "put on," and immediately jumped his horse over the stone wall at his left and disappeared down the farm road leading into a ravine where rise the headwaters of the Shawsheen River. He knew the location well, and easily followed the road through the thicket until it comes out on the Concord road again, a half mile or so beyond.

Revere, not so well acquainted with the location, headed towards the dense woods on the lower edge of the pasture, thinking to dismount within their shadows and escape on foot. Six more British officers were in hiding there, and they easily seized his horse's bridle and with pistols levelled at his breast ordered him to dismount.

And so there in Lincoln, about two and one-half miles beyond Lexington, ended the midnight rides of William Dawes and Paul Revere. Prescott had gone on to continue the alarm, Dawes had retreated towards Lexington, and Revere was a prisoner. While the latter was being secured, three or four of the officers started up the road in pursuit of Dawes, who galloped his horse furiously up to a farm house, where he reined in so suddenly that he was thrown to the ground. With great presence of mind he shouted loudly for assistance, exclaiming: —

"Hallo, my boys. I've got two of 'em."

The British in pursuit supposing they were ambushed in turn, retreated and made good their escape. Dawes rose from the ground and found himself quite alone, for the house, which might have contained a force of American minute men, was empty and deserted. He mounted his horse and rode leisurely away.*

But Revere was not the only prisoner captured by the British officers in Lincoln. Solo-

* Unfortunately no poet has ever thought the ride of William Dawes a sufficiently thrilling one for a place in poetic literature. When he left the farm house he rode into obscurity. For the incidents in Lincoln that he took part in, I am indebted to his granddaughter, Mrs. Mehitable May Goddard, as narrated in Henry W. Holland's book, William Dawes and his Ride With Paul Revere.

mon Brown, Jonathan Loring, and Elijah Sanderson, all of Lexington, had been passing along at that place about ten o'clock, the previous evening (for it is now after midnight, April 19th), and were detained and being held as prisoners when Revere was added. A one-handed peddler, Allen by name, was also a prisoner, having been captured after Brown and his two companions. For some reason he was not long delayed, but released, and went his way.

Revere was ordered to dismount and one of the six proceeded to examine him, asking his name; if he was an express; and what time he left Boston. He answered each question truthfully, and added that the troops in passing the river had got aground; that he had alarmed the country on the way up; and that 500 Americans would soon be present. This was rather disturbing news for his captors, and the one who had acted as spokesman rode to the four who had first halted the messengers. After a short conference the five returned on a gallop, and one of them, whom Revere afterwards found to be Major Mitchell of the Fifth Regiment, clapped a pistol to his head, and, calling him by name, said he should ask him some questions, and if they were not answered truthfully, he should blow his brains out. Revere answered the many questions, some of them new ones and some the same as he had already answered. He was then directed to mount, and the whole party proceeded towards Lexington. After riding about a mile Major Mitchell instructed the officer leading Revere's horse to turn him over to the Sergeant who was instructed to

blow the prisoner's brains out, if he attempted to escape, or if any insults were offered to his captors on the way.

When within half a mile of Lexington meeting-house, on the Common, they heard a gun fired, and Major Mitchell, beginning to feel alarmed, asked Revere its cause, who told him it was an alarm. The other prisoners were then ordered to dismount, one of the officers cut the bridles of their horses and drove them away. Revere asked to be discharged, also, but his request was not heeded.

Coming a little nearer to the meeting-house, within sight of it, in fact, they heard a volley of gun shots, whereupon Major Mitchell called a halt, and questioned Revere again, as to the distance to Cambridge, and if there were two roads going there, etc. He then ordered him to dismount and exchange horses with the Sergeant, who cut away bridle and saddle from his own, which was a small one and well nigh exhausted, before completing the exchange.*

The officers then hastily disappeared down the road towards Lexington meeting-house, and Revere made his way, probably afoot, across the old cemetery and the adjacent pasture near Lexington Common, to the parsonage on Bedford Road, where he had left Hancock and Adams a few hours earlier.

The entire distance that Revere rode, from the Charlestown shore to the spot in Lincoln where he was captured, and back to Lexington

* Tradition says that Deacon Larkin's horse died from the effects of the strenuous ride of Revere, but it is probable that his second rider may have been equally or more of a contributory cause, as Revere's ride was not long and fast enough to kill a horse in sound condition.

Common, was between 18 and 19 miles, and the elapsed time nearly four hours.

FLIGHT OF HANCOCK AND ADAMS.

The narration of Revere's adventures was eagerly listened to by the patriots assembled at the parsonage. Hancock and Adams were urged to flee by their friends. Hancock was loth to do so, but Adams persuaded him that their duties were executive rather than military, so they prepared for a hasty retreat. Their flight commenced in a chaise driven by Jonas Clarke, son of the minister.* Mr. Lowell, Hancock's secretary, and Paul Revere, accompanied them for two miles into Burlington, where they stopped, first at the house of Mr. Reed for a little time, and then continued farther on to the home of Madame Jones, widow of Rev. Thomas Jones and of Rev. Mr. Marrett. Then they sent back to the parsonage for Hancock's betrothed, Dorothy Quincy, his aunt, Mrs. Hancock, and lastly, a "fine salmon," which had been presented to them for dinner, and naturally forgotten as they started on their flight. All of these arrived in due time, and then Revere and Lowell returned to Lexington Common, with the intention of rescuing a trunk and its contents which belonged to Hancock, and which he had left at the Buckman Tavern.

The fugitives were about to sit down to the salmon dinner when a Lexington farmer, in great excitement, rushed in exclaiming, that the British were coming, and that his wife was even

* Holland.

then in "eternity." The salmon dinner was abandoned, and the flight continued under the guidance of Mr. Marrett, to Amos Wyman's, where they finally sat down to a dinner, not of salmon, but of cold salt pork and potatoes served on a wooden tray. The last stopping place was just over the boundary line of Woburn into Billerica, easterly from the present Lowell Turnpike, and northerly from the Lexington parsonage about four miles.

Samuel Adams had left behind him somewhere on the road his immortal saying: —

"What a glorious morning for America is this."*

Revere and Lowell reached Buckman Tavern, and there learned from a man who had just come up the road that the troops were within two miles. They proceeded to a chamber for the trunk, which they secured, and looking out of the window towards Boston, saw the King's soldiers but a little way off. They quickly made their exit from the Tavern, passed along the Common through Captain Parker's Company, or rather a small part of it, and heard his words: —

"Let the troops pass by and don't molest them without they begin first."†

* It has sometimes been written that Hancock and Adams first went to a little wooded hill southeasterly from the parsonage overlooking Lexington Common, and perhaps half a mile away, and where they remained concealed until after the British had passed, and that Adams, looking down upon that first scene of bloodshed expressed himself as above quoted. But I cannot reconcile that statement with Revere's own version of the flight wherein he speaks of going with them two miles and then returning for Hancock's trunk at the Buckman Tavern, and which he succeeded in getting just before the British arrived there at five o'clock. Thus Adams could not have witnessed the opening scene on Lexington Common.

† Revere's Narrative. Otherwise quoted as "Don't fire unless fired upon, but if they want war, let it begin here." Lexington Hist. Soc. I, 46.

When a little farther along, "*not half gun shot off*," as Revere expresses it, he heard a single gun, turned and saw the smoke of it rising just in front of the troops, heard them give a great shout, saw them run a few paces, heard irregular firing as of an advance guard, and then firing by platoons.

The American Revolution had indeed commenced.

ALARMS IN OTHER PLACES.

It must not be imagined that information of the night march of the troops was known only along the highway to their destination in Concord. There were fleet messengers in every direction, through the Counties of Middlesex and Essex and Norfolk. Those lanterns in the North Church steeple meant as much to many others as to those on the Charlestown shore. But few details of their rides have been left to us. Yet everywhere the hoof-beats, the shadowy form of the horseman — his cry of alarm, the drums — the bells — the guns — the assembling of the minute men,— their hurried march towards that one long and thin highway from Boston to Concord ; some of these are known, and can be written of, as a part of the record of that day.

Northerly along the coast the alarm went. At Lynn, ten miles away, the inhabitants were awakened in the early morn of the 19th, by the information that 800 British soldiers had left Boston in the night and were proceeding towards Concord. Many immediately set out for the scene of the invasion, singly and in little

bands, without waiting to march in company file.*

At Woburn, ten miles from Boston, a man rode up to the house of Mr. Douglass, about an hour before sunrise — and knocked loudly at the door, saying:

"There is an alarm — the British are coming out; and if there is any soldier in the house he must turn out and repair to Lexington as soon as possible."†

Such is the sworn statement of Robert Douglass, who lived in Portland, Maine, but who was then staying at his father's home in Woburn. He arose and started for Lexington, four miles away, with Sylvanus Wood. And Douglass, upon arrival, paraded with Capt. Parker's Company. Col. Loammi Baldwin resided in Woburn, and entered in his diary some of his experiences of the day. Under date of April 19, he says that in the morning a little before the break of day, they were alarmed by Mr. Stedman's express from Cambridge. With others he hurried to Lexington, but could not reach the Common in time to participate in the opening struggle. They saw the stains of blood on the ground, hurried on to Lincoln, and at Tanner's Brook commenced to harass the British on their return.‡

In Reading, twelve miles from Boston, alarm guns were fired, just at sunrise. Edmund Foster in a letter to Col. Daniel Shattuck, of Concord, dated March 10, 1825, speaks at length of his personal experiences. Following the guns came

* Lewis and Newhall's History of Lynn, page 338.

† Deposition of Robert Douglass.

‡ Beneath Old Roof Trees. A. E. Brown.

a post, bringing the information that the Regulars had gone to Concord.

In Danvers, sixteen miles away, news of the British advance was given at about 9 o'clock, and was communicated to the citizens by bells and drums, who responded by thronging to the rendezvous near the Old South Church at the bend of the Boston Road. Women were there, not with entreaty, but to fasten on the belt, and gird on the sword.*

At Andover, twenty-five miles away, the alarm was given at about sunrise, and minute-men were ready to march for Concord at about 10 o'clock. On their way through Tewksbury they learned that eight Americans had been killed at Lexington; and at Billerica, that the British were killing Americans at Concord. Reaching Bedford they learned more definitely that two Americans had been killed at Concord, and that the enemy was falling back.†

Lexington lies in a northwesterly direction from Boston, at a distance of about eleven miles. At that time it was the abiding place of John Hancock and Samuel Adams who were stopping at the parsonage of Rev. Jonas Clarke. It was then supposed that one of the objects of Gen. Gage was to effect their capture, and that his other object was the destruction of military stores at Concord. Possibly the first intimation that Lexington had of the proposed hostile visit of Gage's troops was communicated by a young man, Solomon Brown, who had been to Boston, on market business, and on his return

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* Hansen's History of Beverly, page 88; Hurd's Middlesex County, II, page 1010.

† Journal of Thomas Boynton of Capt. Ames's Company, and Hurd's History of Essex County, II., page 1572.

had passed a patrol of British officers. There were ten of them, it was late in the afternoon, or early evening of April 18, and they were riding away from Boston towards Lexington, which seemed out of harmony with their ordinary way of riding back to Boston at night. Mr. Brown kept somewhat near them along the road for awhile, that he might the better determine their intentions, allowing them to pass and repass him several times. Having at last satisfied himself that their mission meant more than a pleasure sortie into the country, he gained the lead once more, and when out of their sight rode rapidly to Lexington and reported his observations to Orderly Sergeant William Munroe, proprietor of Munroe's Tavern.*

These ten officers riding in advance must have known that actual hostilities were at hand, for they not only detained travelers on the highway, but deliberately insulted a large number of the inhabitants along the road. Three or four of them, at least, went far beyond the behavior of military men in time of peace, for as they rode into Lexington, they stopped at the house of

* In a article on the Munroe Tavern in the Proceedings of the Lexington Hist. Soc., III., 146, Albert W. Bryant recites a tradition that the information of ten British officers riding up the road was given to Sergeant Munroe, who gave the first general alarm that assembled Captain Parker's Company. A messenger later was sent down the road on a scouting trip for the British, but who did not return. A second was sent who did not return. A third was sent who also did not return. A fourth was despatched who did return with the news that the British Army was really marching on Lexington, and that the previous messengers who had been sent down the road had met and passed two or more British soldiers riding in advance of the main body, who then closed in on them as prisoners. The horse of the fourth messenger had become frightened at the two advancing Britons and turned back in spite of his rider, who caught a glimpse of the British front ranks on the march. [This last messenger was Captain Thaddeus Bowman, F. W. C.]

Matthew Mead, entered and helped themselves to the prepared family supper of brown bread and baked beans. Mrs. Mead and her daughter, Rhoda, were within, and Mr. Mead and two sons were absent. This Lexington home was at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Woburn Street, where the Russell House now stands.*

Quickly following Solomon Brown's message came a written one, directed to John Hancock, sent by Elbridge Gerry, one of the Committee of Supplies, then sitting at the Black Horse Tavern in Menotomy. It was practically to the same effect, "that eight or nine officers of the King's troops were seen, just before night, passing the road towards Lexington, in a musing, contemplative posture; and it was supposed they were out upon some evil design."†

Hancock at once replied to Gerry that it was said the officers had gone to Concord, and that he would send word thither.‡

But naturally it was surmised that the capture of Hancock and Adams was intended, so a guard of eight men, under Sergeant William Munroe, was stationed around the home of Rev. Jonas Clarke. About forty of the members of Captain Parker's Company gathered at the Buckman Tavern after the mounted officers passed through Lexington,** and it was deemed best that scouts should be sent out to follow them. Accordingly Solomon Brown, Jonathan Loring, and Elijah Sanderson volunteered to act, — and they started about 9 o'clock in the

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* Our Grandmothers of 1775, by Miss Elizabeth W. Harrington in Lex. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, I, 51.

† Rev. Jonas Clarke's Narrative.

‡ Life of Elbridge Gerry, by James T. Austin, page 67.

** Dep. of Joseph Underwood.

evening.* As we have previously written, they were ambushed and captured at about 10 o'clock on the road towards Concord, in the town of Lincoln, by the same ones they had set out to follow.

Soon after the arrival of Paul Revere between 12 and 1 o'clock in the morning of April 19, with the intelligence of the starting of the King's troops, Captain Parker assembled his company on the Common. The roll was called and they were instructed to load with powder and ball. One of the messengers who had been sent towards Boston, returned and reported that he could not discover any troops on the way out, which raised some doubts as to their coming. It was between 1 and 2 o'clock when they were dismissed with instructions, however, to remain in the immediate neighborhood, for quick response to the call of the drum. Many of them adjourned to Buckman's Tavern, and the others, living in the immediate vicinity, returned to their homes.

Between daylight and sunrise Capt. Thaddeus Bowman rode up, and reported that the regulars were near. The drum was beat, and Captain Parker's little band assembled on the Common.

The soldiers of the King were but one hundred rods down the road.†

Bedford an adjoining town to Lexington, and about fifteen miles from Boston, was alarmed on the evening of the 18th, by Nathan Munroe and Benjamin Tidd, both of Lexington, who

* Sanderson having no horse was offered one by Thaddeus Harrington, which he accepted. Dep. of Elijah Sanderson.

† Dep. of William Munroe containing statement also of a British prisoner.

had been sent there by Captain Parker because of the suspicious actions of the British officers on their way to Concord. Munroe and Tidd aroused the town, and some of the minute-men rallied at the tavern kept by Nathan Fitch, Jr., and were there served with light refreshments. Captain Willson said: —

"It is a cold breakfast, boys, but we will give the British a hot dinner. We'll have every dog of them before night."*

The larger Bedford rally was at the oak tree standing in the little triangle a few rods west of the village, where the road to Concord branches away from the road to Billerica.†

Munroe and Tidd continued their alarm to Meriam's Corner in Concord and returned to Lexington in time to hear the first alarm bell in the morning of the 19th, and witness the assembling of Capt. Parker's Company. Munroe, being a member joined the ranks, and Tidd remained on or near the Common and was dispersed with the rest.‡

Josiah Nelson, living in the northeast part of Lincoln, was awakened on the night of the 18th, by horsemen passing up the road. Rushing out partly dressed, to ascertain who they were, he received a blow on his head from a sword, cutting sufficiently to draw the blood. He was seized and detained a little while by his British captors, and when released had his wound dressed, and hurried to Bedford and gave the alarm in that town also.**

* Brown's History of Bedford, page 24.
† Brown's History of Bedford, page 53.
‡ Deposition of Tidd and Abbot.
** Brown's History of Bedford, pages 218, 219.

Billerica, seventeen miles northwest from Boston, probably received the alarm about two o'clock, and when the encounter on Lexington Common took place few if any families but had heard the call to arms.*

Concord, seventeen miles northwesterly from Boston was first aroused by Dr. Samuel Prescott, between one and two o'clock in the morning of the 19th. He had just escaped from the British, in Lincoln, at the time they captured Revere. It was nearly three o'clock when the alarm bell was rung, whereupon several posts were despatched, who returning, brought the news that the regulars were indeed coming; that they had reached Lexington, and killed six Americans, and then started for Concord.† Capt. Minot's Company took possession of the hill to the eastward above the meeting house, and Capt. Brown's Company marched up the road to meet the enemy.‡

Corporal Amos Barrett of Capt. David Brown's Company has left a written statement that he thinks one hundred and fifty minute-men had assembled. His Company resolved to go up the road towards Lexington and meet the British. They accordingly marched a mile or a mile and a half, when they saw them coming. They halted and awaited them, and when they were within one hundred rods were ordered by their captain to about face. They marched back to the village to the music of their fife and

* Hazen's History of Billerica, page 235.

† Diary of Rev. Wm. Emerson in R. W. Emerson's Discourse, and Capt. Amos Barrett's Account of the Battle in True's Journal.

‡ Dep. of Capt. Nathan Barret and fifteen others of Concord, and Dep. of John Hoar and seven others of Lincoln, present in Concord before the arrival of the British.

drum, the British following, also playing their fifes and drums.*

Brown's Company consolidated with Minot's, and both took up a new position, a little farther north on the adjoining hill, back of the town. The British were so many more in number, that it was thought prudent to still farther retire. Accordingly the two companies marched down the hill, over the North Bridge, distance three-quarters of a mile from the village, and took a new and stronger position on Punkatasset Hill, a little more than a mile from the village, but clearly overlooking it. There they welcomed the reinforcements that were arriving from the neighboring towns.

In Tewksbury, twenty miles northwesterly from Boston, the alarm was given at about 2 o'clock in the morning. "The British are on their way to Concord and I have alarmed all the towns from Charlestown to here,"† were the words that aroused Capt. John Trull, from his slumber, who in turn fired his gun to arouse Gen. Varnum, across the Merrimack River over in Dracut, a signal previously agreed upon between them. When Capt. Trull reached the village his men were awaiting him and they at once started for Concord. There were two other Tewksbury companies commanded respectively by Capt. Jonathan Brown and Capt. Thomas Clark, who also responded to the alarm.

In Acton, twenty-one miles northwesterly from Boston, and the adjoining town to Concord westerly, the alarm was given early in the

* Capt. Amos Barrett's Account of the Battle.

† Drake's Middlesex County, II, 375-6.

morning. Col. Francis Faulkner resided in South Acton. His son, Francis, Jr., was lying awake and listening to the clatter of a horse's feet drawing nearer and nearer. Suddenly he leaped from his bed and ran to his father's room, adjoining, and exclaimed:

"Father, there's a horse coming on the full run, and he's bringing news!"

His father had heard the horseman also, for he was partly dressed with gun in hand. Across the bridge and up to the house came the messenger.

"Rouse your minute-men, Mr. Faulkner, the British are marching on Lexington and Concord." And away he rode to spread the news.

Col. Faulkner, without completing his dress, fired his gun three times as fast as he could load, that being the preconcerted signal. Very quickly a neighbor repeated it, and the boy, still listening, heard a repetition many times, each farther away. Thus was Acton aroused.

At the home of Col. Faulkner very soon assembled Capt. Hunt's Company. Women were there, too, to help as they might. Stakes were driven into the lawn, kettles hung, fires built, and a dinner for the soldiers soon cooked. Some of the older boys were delighted to follow on and carry it in saddle-bags, separately from the minute-men, with instructions to take the field roads if the British should be found occupying the highways. Col. Faulkner marched away with Capt. Hunt's Company, to take command of the Middlesex Regiment, which he supposed to be assembling at Concord.

The home of Capt. Davis, was about a mile westerly from the meeting house in the centre

of Acton, and about six miles from the North Bridge in Concord. His Company were assembling rapidly, and when about twenty had reported he was anxious to march. A man of serious mien, he seemed particularly so on the morning of April 19. One of his companions, speaking cheerily, perhaps lightly, was gently reproved by the brave Captain, who seemed to have a premonition of his own fate, and reminded the other of what the day might have in store for them. They were about to proceed when he turned to his wife, as if to speak, but he could only say:

"Take good care of the children."*

Then he turned and marched away with his little command. It might have been seven o'clock when he started,† to the lively tune of the "White Cockade" played by his fifer, Luther Blanchard, and his drummer, Francis Barker.

When they reached the westerly part of Concord they must have learned what the British were doing at the home of Col. Barrett, for they left the highway and passed into the fields to the northward of the Barrett home, stopping for a while a little way off to watch the King's soldiers in their work of destruction of the military stores. Continuing again, they marched through the fields until they came out into the highway at Widow Brown's Tavern,‡ which was situated across the river from Concord village, a mile away. From there they proceeded by way of the Back Road, so

* Deposition of his widow.

† Between one and two hours after sunrise. Deposition of his widow.

‡ Deposition of Charles Handley.

called, to the high ground now called Punkatasset Hill, rising about a quarter of a mile to the westward of the North Bridge.

Other companies of militia and minute-men were already assembled there, and Capt. Davis marched his men, who now numbered about forty, to the left of the line, a position that had been assigned to him at the muster a little while before.

From this position on Punkatasset, they looked down upon the gently flowing Concord River; upon the old North Bridge which crossed just in the immediate foreground; upon the red-coated soldiers who stood grimly on guard at the nearer end; and beyond, up the river to Concord village, three-quarters of a mile away, where curling volumes of smoke seemed to indicate the burning of American homes.

In Chelmsford, twenty-three miles northwesterly from Boston, the alarm was early given by a mounted messenger, upon which guns were fired and drums beat. Minute-men met at the Alarm-post, a rock standing where the hay-scales were placed in after years. Captain Moses Parker's Company, and Captain Oliver Barron's Company, marched, not in regular order, but in squads, and came into Concord at Meriam's Corner and on Hardy's Hill in time for the pursuit.

In Dracut, twenty-five miles from Boston, the alarm was given soon after two o'clock, by the firing of a gun by Capt. Trull across the Merrimac River in Tewksbury, a signal previously agreed upon, which aroused Gen. Varnum. Two companies marched immediately,

one under Captain Peter Coburn, and the other under Captain Stephen Russell. They were, however, too remote from the scene of strife to meet the British, but continued their rapid march to Cambridge.

Littleton, twenty-five miles from Boston, was alarmed in the morning by the news of the British march on Concord. The messenger then hurried over Beaver Brook Bridge, and into the towns beyond on his mission.

Even in Pepperell, thirty-five miles northwesterly from Boston, the alarm went, reaching there about 9 o'clcok. Gen. Prescott gave orders to the Pepperell and Hollis companies, to march to Groton, there to join others of the regiment.*

Roxbury, the adjoining town to Boston, southwesterly, was naturally the first town in that direction to know of the movement of the British. William Dawes, the first messenger out of Boston, as we have seen, passed through the town on his round-about-way to Lexington, and must have delivered his first message there before 11 o'clock on the evening of the 18th. There were three companies under the command of Captain Moses Whiting, Captain William Draper, and Captain Lemuel Child, respectively, who took active parts in the events of the 19th. As they marched for the scene of strife many women and children fled to other towns for greater safety.†

The news reached Dedham, ten miles southwesterly from Boston, a little after 9 o'clock in

* Lorenzo P. Blood in Hurd's Middlesex County, III, 231.

† There is a tradition in the Greaton family that Mrs. Greaton took her younger children and such articles as she could carry in a cart and fled to Brookline; the older children walking beside the vehicle. Drake's Roxbury, 61.

the morning. It came by way of Needham and Dover.*

Framingham, eighteen miles southwesterly from Boston, was alarmed before 8 o'clock in the morning. A bell was rung, and alarm guns fired, which assembled many of the two companies of militia and one of minute-men, who started in about an hour. Captain Edgell went on foot the entire distance, and carried his gun. Those living in the extreme south and west parts of the town followed on a little later. Not long after the men had left, a report was started that negroes were coming to massacre them all, which seemed the more frightful to the women and children because of the absence of about all of the able-bodied men. For those defenceless ones at home it was a terrible day.†

Newton, seven miles westerly from Boston, was alarmed at early dawn by a volley from one of John Pigeon's field-guns, kept at the gun-house in Newton Centre, near the church.‡

Sudbury, eighteen miles westerly from Boston, received its first news by a messenger from Concord, eight miles away, who reported to Thomas Plympton, a member of the Provincial Congress. Captain Nixon was aroused by a messenger, who shouted:

"Up, up! the red-coats are up as far as Concord."

Captain Nixon started off at once on horseback.**

In Worcester, forty miles westerly from

* Haven's Historical Address, page 46.

† Rev. Josiah H. Temple, in Hurd's Middlesex County, III, 624.

‡ Smith's Newton, 341.

** Hudson's Sudbury, 374-5, and Hudson in Hurd's Middlesex County, II, 401.

Boston, the people were alarmed before noon by a messenger mounted on a white horse dripping with sweat, and bloody from spurring. Driving at full speed through the town he shouted:

"To arms, to arms! the war has begun!"

At the church the horse fell exhausted. Another was procured and the news still went on. The bell rang out the alarm, cannon were fired, and special messengers despatched to every part of the town to summon the soldiers. In a little while 110 men, under Captain Timothy Bigelow were paraded on the Green, and soon marched for Concord. They were met on the way by the intelligence of the British retreat. So they changed their course towards Boston.*

It would be interesting to know the full details of that messenger's long ride, and just where in the westward it ended. His exhausted horse, covered with bloody foam, falling in the street before the church, must have been a spectacular sight, and one that spoke loudly of that terrific ride, perhaps the longest one of all the messengers. And we can safely imagine that all along his course, other messengers, drawing their inspiration from him, rode into the north, and into the south, bearing with them the news that he bore; and that in turn their words were echoed by the gun-volley, the clanging bell and the drum-beat.

The reveille had now been sounded in Essex, in Middlesex, in Norfolk, and in Worcester Counties, and the minute-men were on their way to the battle of April 19.

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* Lincoln and Hersey's History of Worcester, 97.

LIEUT. COL. SMITH'S ADVANCE THROUGH CAMBRIDGE.

Let us now return to the King's soldiers under the command of Lieut. Col. Smith, whom we left on the shore of Charles River at Lechmere Point in Cambridge. It was one o'clock on the morning of the 19th, before the column was fully under way.*

Lechmere Point then had but one house, which stood on the southern slope of the hill, on the northern side of Spring Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, and facing to the south.† Where the troops landed, on Second Street, was sufficiently remote to be out of sight and hearing, evidently the particular aim of the commanding officer.

They proceeded cautiously, following an old farm-road around the northeasterly slope of the hill, sometimes wading in the marshes that bordered Willis Creek, and fording that stream, waist-deep, in the vicinity of Bullard's Bridge.

Smith evidently thought that the noise of his soldiers tramping across the bridge itself might attract attention. His soldiers found the ford a long one, and the waters deep.‡

Even thus early on the expedition was the British Army betrayed by one of its own soldiers, if the tradition handed down by a

* A British officer in Boston in 1775 (See Atlantic Monthly, April, 1877). In his Diary he places the time of starting at two o'clock, and De Bernicre, in his report, at about two o'clock, but I am compelled to compute it about one o'clock considering the distance they had to march and the well known time they arrived at Lexington Common, viz., almost eleven miles and reaching there at half past four.

† E. C. Booth, in The Somerville Journal, April, 1875.

‡ Diary of a British officer in Boston in 1775.

Mrs. Moore can be relied upon. Seventy-five years or more ago she related to Rev. J. L. Sibley, who has stated accordingly, that she was then living in Cambridge, a young girl, and that one of the soldiers was taken sick after his landing at Lechmere Point, and accordingly permitted by his commander to return by boat to Boston. He did not immediately return, however, but made his way to the solitary farm-house where Mrs. Moore was living. The occupants gained from him the significance of his midnight presence, and it was considered of sufficient importance to communicate speedily to their fellow townsmen.

Bullard's Bridge crossed Willis Creek, near the present Prospect Street, which runs from Cambridge to Somerville.* Later on the Creek was called Miller's River. It was then a little tributary to the Charles River, but has long since been filled in, and modest dwellings, and more pretentious business establishments now cover its upper area.

LIEUT. COL. SMITH'S ADVANCE THROUGH SOMERVILLE.

The invading army emerging from Willis Creek were now in Somerville. They quickly arrived at Piper's Tavern, then standing in what is now Union Square. It was after two o'clock, but the moon was shining sufficiently

*The interested reader should consult the map of Boston and vicinity by J. F. W. Des Barres first published, May 5, 1775, and reprinted in Shattuck's History of Boston, and the one by Henry Pelham, first published in London, June 2, 1777, and reprinted in the Siege and Evacuation of Boston. A study of them will enable one to more fully understand the topography of the country about Boston at that time.

bright for some of the soldiers to read the sign aloud, which an awakened inmate heard. Up the present Bow Street they marched, passing the Choate and Frost houses, continuing along the present Somerville Avenue to Jonathan Ireland's house, at the southwest corner of the present School Street. None of the inhabitants just along there seem to have been disturbed. A few rods farther lived Samuel Tufts on the westerly side of the road near the present Laurel Street. He was casting bullets in a little hut back of his dwelling, and being assisted by his negro, but neither of them heard the tread of soldiers in the road. But yet a little farther along, however, at the northwest corner of the present Central Street lived the widow Rand. She was disturbed by the unusual noise in the road, and came down stairs in her night-clothes to investigate. A hog had been killed for her the day before, and she feared a midnight thief. Upon opening the door she saw the soldiers, but hid behind the rain-water hogshead until they had passed and then hurried across the road to tell her neighbor Tufts of the unusual sight. At first he could not believe the story, but with his lantern's aid saw the many foot-prints in the road, and became convinced. Springing to his horse's back he took a short cut bridle path to Cambridge, there to spread the alarm.

Then marched the column by Samuel Kent's house on the westerly side of the road, at the corner of the present Garden Court. Kent did not awake. Then by the Capen house, a little farther on the easterly side. No one there awakened. Then by the Hunnewell brothers

on the easterly side at the turn of the road. They were both somewhat deaf and did not hear the military tread.

The next house is the home of Timothy Tufts, on the easterly side of the road, nearly opposite Beech Street. Mrs. Tufts heard the soldiers, and saw from her bed the gun-barrels shining in the moonlight. She awakened her husband and they both looked out upon that red-coated column, as it halted long enough for some of the soldiers to drink at the well.

LIEUT. COL. SMITH'S ADVANCE THROUGH CAMBRIDGE.

The march was again resumed a few rods farther along the Milk Row road, then wheeling left south-westerly into Cambridge through what is now Beech Street, less than an eighth of a mile in length, then wheeling right into the Lexington and Concord road, towards the northwest.* They were then on what is now known as Massachusetts Avenue.

Along this part of Battle Road in Cambridge, were perhaps captured the first prisoners, Thomas Robins and David Harrington, both of Lexington. Robins was carrying milk to Boston, and in company with Harrington when they reached the vicinity of Menotomy River, the present dividing line between Cambridge and Arlington. They were detained, and compelled to return to Lexington with the soldiers, and released at the commencement of hostilities on the Common.†

* E. C. Booth in The Somerville Journal, April, 1875.

† Francis H. Brown, M. D., in Lexington Historical Society Proceedings, III, 101.

LIEUT. COL. SMITH'S ADVANCE THROUGH ARLINGTON.

Just after crossing the Menotomy River into Arlington they passed a house where lived the venerable Samuel Whittemore * with his sons and grandchildren. Silent as was the march intended to be, it awoke the inmates and preparations for the day commenced.

The troops soon arrived opposite to the Black Horse Tavern, kept by Mr. Wetherby. Thus far their march had not been heralded other than by the flashing lights and fleet and silent messengers. Lieut. Col. Smith still thought his little army unnoticed, for he rode a little way beyond the Tavern, halted his men, and sent back an officer with a file of men, to surround and guard the house, while others should search the interior for members of the rebel congress whom he thought to be within. His surmise was correct, to some extent, for three members were there, just awakened by the heavy tread, and who heard the low-voiced commands to halt.

The day before, April 18, the Committee of Safety and the Committee of Supplies, had held a joint meeting at the Tavern, and there were present, Col. Azor Orne, Col. Joseph Palmer, Col. William Heath, Col. Thomas Gardner, Richard Devens, Abraham Watson, Capt. Benjamin White, and John Pigeon, of the Committee of Safety, and David Cheever, Elbridge Gerry, Col. Charles Lee, and Col. Benjamin Lincoln, of the Committee of Supplies. At the close of the meeting most of them, being

* House still standing, (1912) and numbered 54 Massachusetts Avenue.

near enough, had departed for their homes. It will be remembered that Richard Devens of Charlestown departed early enough to meet Revere on the Charlestown shore, and acquaint him with the movement of the ten British officers riding up the road. It will also be recalled that Elbridge Gerry had sent from here a messenger to John Hancock at Lexington to the same effect.

However, there were three members of the two committees who chose to remain at the Black Horse Tavern that night. They were Col. Azor Orne, Elbridge Gerry, and Col. Charles Lee.

It was not quite three o'clock when the slumbers of these three men were disturbed by the unusual noise in the road, and they went to the windows and looked out into the moonlight and down on the marching host and its gleaming arms. They watched with eager curiosity. Not for a moment did they connect themselves individually with the movement, but when they heard the command to halt, and saw a file of soldiers leave the ranks for the Tavern they were startled, and then it suddenly occurred to them that possibly they were the objects of those military manœuvres. They hurried down stairs, even clad in their night-clothes as they were, and finally sought a safe exit at the rear. It is said that Mr. Gerry, in his nervous haste to escape, was on the point of opening the front door and rushing out that way, but was prevented by the cry of the landlord:

"For God's sake, don't open that door," and who then conducted the three to the back part

of the house, and headed them for a field of corn stubble. Elbridge Gerry stumbled and fell, and cried out to his friend:

"Stop, Orne, for me, till I can get up; I have hurt myself."

His position, flat on the ground, out of sight because of the corn-stubble, suggested that it would be a good hiding-place for all, so the three lay prone on the ground until the King's troops passed on. They returned to the Tavern finally to find that the house had indeed been searched for them, very ineffectively, for even their personal effects including Mr. Gerry's gold watch, left ticking under his pillow, had not been disturbed. The search by the soldiers had not been a very thorough one.

Col. Lee never recovered from the ill effect of his exposure on the damp ground in the night air, too thinly clad as he was, for he died within a month.*

The march of the British forces under Lieut. Col. Smith up to this point, was a little over five miles, and it was nearly three o'clock. He continued serenely for a little farther, for unknown to him the inmates of many houses that he passed were aroused by the measured tread of his men.

Solomon Bowman, Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Locke's Company of Minute-men, lived in Menotomy, now Arlington.† He came to the door to witness the unusual sight. A soldier perceiving him, left the ranks and asked

* Samuel A. Smith's Address at West Cambridge, page 17.

† House still standing on the northerly side of Massachusetts Avenue, numbered 417, nearly opposite Whittemore Street. Arlington Past and Present, Parker, page 141.

for a drink of water. Bowman refused the request, but asked him: —

"What are you out at this time of night for?"

The reply of the thirsty soldier was not recorded, but whatever it was Bowman readily drew his own conclusions, and when the column disappeared up the road, hastened to call out members of his company. They formed at day-break on the Common.*

But at the house across the road, with its chimneys painted white, the reception was more gracious. A tory lived there, and white chimneys, it has been said, indicated the owner's politics.†

The column halted again, briefly in the centre of the town, and Lieut. Col. Smith despatched forward six companies of light infantry under Major Pitcairn, for the purpose of earlier securing the two bridges on the roads just beyond Concord village.‡ Scarcely had he done so, when signal guns and alarm bells were heard, which indicated a general awakening to arms of the Provincials. Smith realized the full meaning of those ominous sounds, and from there, in Arlington village, promptly sent back to Gen. Gage for reinforcements. Fortunate for him that he did so, for otherwise the day's climax for his force would have been even more disastrous than it was.

His marching soldiers could now hardly expect to pass any house unseen. A party of young men, playing cards, even at that late

*Statement of Mrs. Hill, daughter of Bowman, in Smith's Address, page 18.

† Smith, 18.

‡ Lieut. Col. Smith's Report.

hour, in an old shop that stood near the road, lost their interest in the game and gave it up.*

At the Tufts Tavern, still standing on the easterly side of Massachusetts Avenue, nearly opposite Mt. Vernon Street, the soldiers halted and some of them proceeded towards Mr. Tufts's barn. He was awake, and saw them, and suspected that their mission might be the confiscation of his favorite white horse. He called for his gun, but his prudent wife informed him that it had been loaned. Opening the door however, he addressed a British officer saying:

"You are taking an early ride, sir!"

"You had better go to bed and get your sleep while you can," replied the officer significantly.†

At the corner of the main road and the one leading to Winchester, now Forest Street, "At the Foot of the Rocks," lived a shoemaker. A light glimmering through the shutters caught the attention of an officer, who sent a soldier to investigate its cause, so late in the night. The good wife replied that her "old man" was sick and she was "making some herb tea." That excuse satisfied the officer, for the family was left undisturbed. The "tea" was in fact melted pewter plates being run into bullets. When the rap first came at the door the old man took to his bed, and his wife emptied the molten pewter into the ashes, where it was readily found after the soldiers had passed on.‡ It is probable that ere night some of the leaden tea had hardened

* A. R. Proctor, who heard it from William Hill and told it to Mr. Smith. The shop stood front of the residence occupied by James Schouler in 1864. Smith, West Cambridge Address, page 19.

† Mrs. Almira T. Whittemore in Parker's Arlington, 194-5.

‡ Mrs. Henry Whittemore's Statement, Smith's West Cambridge Address, 20.

into leaden fruit, and was used for other than medicinal purposes.

In the next house, still standing (1912) and numbered 1193 Massachusetts Avenue, lived Capt. Benjamin Locke. He looked out and saw the marching red-coats, and knew what their mission was. He lost no time in arousing such of his command as lived in that neighborhood.

The British continued along the main road, which at that time ran up the hill westerly from Capt. Locke's home, and is now called Appleton Street, into Paul Revere Road, and out again into the present Massachusetts Avenue. At that time there was no highway between the extreme ends of these two.

Through the rest of Arlington the march was uneventful, save the capture of the scouts sent out from Lexington, who were so neatly ambushed and taken. As we have seen, they were permitted to come down the road passing a few soldiers who were out in advance, and who secreted themselves when an approaching horseman was heard. After the unfortunate scout had passed into the stretch of road bounded by the advance guard and the main body he was not permitted to return to Lexington.

Two men from Woburn, Asahel Porter and Josiah Richardson, were thus captured. It has been stated that they were on their way to the Boston market. If they lived in that part of Woburn which adjoins Lexington, then their natural journey would have been into Lexington, and thence through Arlington and Cambridge. But it may be that they were scouting simply,

for they were on horseback, and therefore without any apparent market business. They were compelled to dismount, their horses taken, and then forced to walk along as prisoners. Reaching the Common in Lexington they were both released by their kindly disposed guard, with the particular understanding that they were to walk, not run, away. Richardson accepted those conditions, carried them out and so escaped. But Porter, once over Rufus Merriam's garden-wall, twenty rods away from his captors, started into a run. Some other soldier than his guard saw him, and evidently thinking that a prisoner was escaping, promptly shot him through the body. Those captures were probably made in Arlington, and not far from the Lexington boundary line.

LIEUT. COL. SMITH'S ADVANCE THROUGH LEXINGTON.

It must have been just over the line into Lexington that the young man, Simon Winship, was met. He was on horseback, unarmed, and passing along in a peaceable manner, when he was halted and ordered to dismount. He questioned their right to treat him in that manner, but for answer they forced him from his horse and compelled him to march on foot in their midst. They asked him if he had been out warning the minute-men, to which he replied that he had not, but that he was returning home to his father's. He was kept as a prisoner until they arrived at Lexington Common, two and one-half miles, where he was compelled to witness the shooting of his fellow townsmen.

Half a mile farther along, and about two miles from Lexington Common, Benjamin Wellington, one of Capt. Parker's Company of minute-men, was captured. This took place very nearly at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Pleasant Street. Wellington was armed and on his way from home on Pleasant Street to join his company. Thus it is claimed, and rightly, that he was the first belligerent or armed man captured by the British. But for some reason he was allowed to depart, not towards the Common, but for home. His gun was not returned to him, however. He started towards home but when out of their sight, turned and passed northerly along the crest of the hills, parallel to the highway, and reached the Common just after Thaddeus Bowman, but ahead of the British.

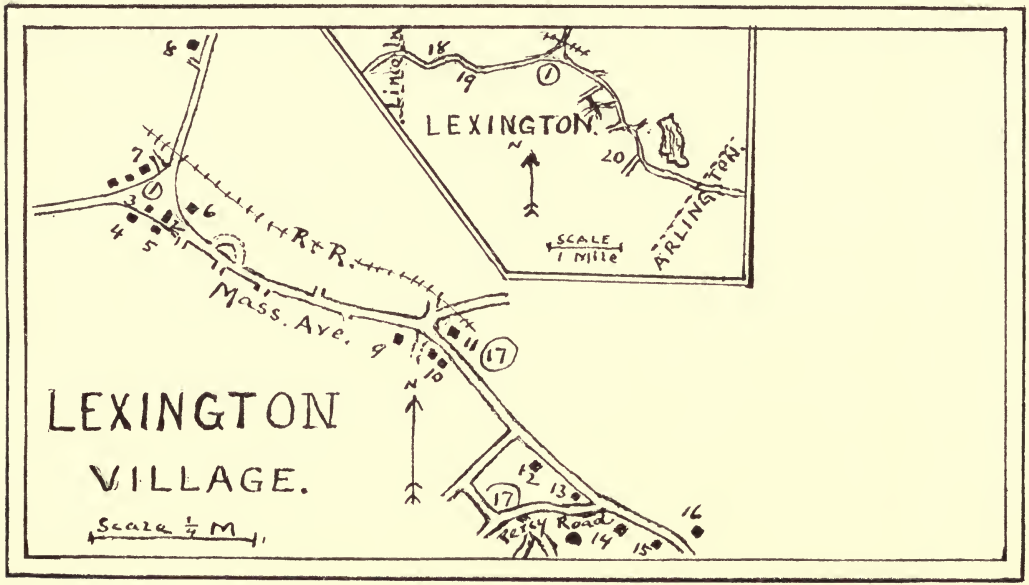
THE OPENING BATTLE ON LEXINGTON COMMON.

The six companies of light infantry under command of Major Pitcairn were now considerably in advance of the main body under Smith, and up the road somewhat farther than the present high school building, even farther along than where the Woburn road, now Woburn Street, turns off to the eastward. When still nearer Lexington Common, within about one hundred rods of it, they heard the beating of a drum by William Dimond, drummer in Captain Parker's Company. It was the summons for that little band to assemble across the pathway of an invading army. Major Pitcairn accepted it as a challenge, and promptly ordered his

The Battle of Lexington, April 19th 1775 Plate I.

1 Major Pitcairn at the head of the Regular Grenadiers
2 The Party who first fired on the Provincials at Lexington
3 Part of the Provincial Company of Lexington
4 Regular Companies on the road to Concord
5 The Meting house at Lexington.
6 The Public Inn

A. Doolittle. Sculpt



1. Lexington Common. 2. Meeting House. 3. Belfry. 4. Marrett Munroe. 5. Emerson. 6. Buckman Tavern. 7. Harrington. 8. Rev. Jonas Clarke. 9. Merriam. 10. Loring. 11. Mead. 12. Mulliken. 13. Bond. 14. Munroe Tavern. 15. Sanderson. 16. Mason. 17. Percy's Cannon. 18. Lieut. Col. Smith wounded. 19. Hayward mortally wounded. 20. Wellington captured.

soldiers to halt and load their muskets,* and then to march on the double quick for Lexington Common.†

Captain John Parker's company numbered, all told, one hundred and twenty men, but only a few more than half answered to this call at day-break, April 19. It will be remembered that Paul Revere did not reach Lexington with his message of alarm until midnight. Many of the minute-men lived too remote to be so quickly summoned. Captain Parker's home was over two miles away, in the southwesterly part of the town, near the Waltham line. He was called at about one o'clock,‡ and stood on the Common before two o'clock with such of his men as had then assembled. We have seen how they answered the roll-call and then dispersed to be within call of the drum, as the night was chilly. Those who lived near, went home, and those who lived too far away, to quickly go and come, repaired to Buckman's Tavern, close at hand.

Captain Parker has been described by his grandson, Theodore Parker, the celebrated Unitarian preacher, as being "a great, tall man, with a large head, and a high, wide brow." His great grand-daughter, Elizabeth S. Parker, has described him as stout, large-framed, medium height, like Rev. Theodore Parker, but with a longer face.** We can imagine him as a prudent man, with a quiet, yet firm courage.

* Deposition of Wm. Munroe who states that he saw about two hundred cartridge ends dropped by the soldiers when loading.

† Deposition of William Munroe, reciting a statement to him by a British prisoner.

‡ Deposition of Captain John Parker.

** Article by Elizabeth S. Parker in Lexington Historical Society, I, 47.

Two men from Woburn had just arrived, and it was then a little before five o'clock. They were Sylvanus Wood and Robert Douglass. They had come about three miles, having heard, about an hour before, the ringing of the bell in the Old Belfry, which stood near the church on the Common. As Wood came up he approached Captain Parker and inquired the news. Parker replied that he did not know what to believe, for, half an hour before, a messenger had returned with the assurance that no British were on the way. While talking, another messenger, Thaddeus Bowman, rode up with the startling announcement that the British were within half a mile. They were nearer than that — not even down the road as far as Woburn Street.

Captain Parker then ordered his drummer, William Dimond * to beat to arms. The minute-men assembled from their homes and from the Buckman Tavern. They were but few, so few indeed, that he turned to Wood and begged him to join their ranks. Wood consented. Parker asked him if his young companion, meaning Robert Douglass, would also join. And Douglass also enlisted into Captain Parker's Company. These two were indeed brave, for the danger was really then and there.

The minute-men gathered around their captain in the middle of the road, about half way between the meeting-house and the tavern. The meeting-house then stood where the

* "William Dimond. Died July 29, 1828. Aged 73." Inscription on his gravestone in Peterboro, N. H. See article in the Boston Globe, Sept. 23, 1903, speaking of him at length as the drummer in Capt. Parker's Company. See also the deposition of Sylvanus Wood who called him William Dimon. See also list of Capt. Parker's Company in Boutwell's Oration at Acton.

heroic statue of a minute-man in bronze now stands. The tavern is still standing (1912).

Parker then said:

"Every man of you who is equipped, follow me; and those of you who are not equipped, go into the meeting-house and furnish yourselves from the magazine, and immediately join the company."* Joseph Comee, Caleb Harrington and Joshua Simonds then went into the meeting-house, to comply with the Captain's command.

Then Parker led those who were equipped, to the northerly end of the Common, where they formed in single line. Sylvanus Wood stepped from the ranks long enough to count them, and has left his sworn statement that there were thirty-eight, "and no more."†

In the brief moments which followed others were hastening to join the ranks, and as they arrived Orderly Sergeant William Munroe attempted to form them into a second line, and partially succeeded.‡ Even later still a few more reached the Common, and were back to the British as they wheeled grandly around the easterly end of the meeting-house and at last stood on Lexington Common.** Captain Parker's entire force then numbered between sixty and seventy men,†† ununiformed, scantily armed, poorly disciplined, pitifully few as compared with the three or four hundred of the British.

* Deposition of Sylvanus Wood.

† Deposition of Sylvanus Wood.

‡ Deposition of William Munroe.

** Depositions of Nathaniel Parkhurst and thirteen others, and of Nathaniel Mulliken and thirty-three others.

†† Depositions of John Munroe, of Ebenezer Munroe, and of William Tidd. Also of Lieut. Edward Thornton Gould, of the Fourth or King's Own Regiment, taken prisoner at Concord.

It is no wonder that one minute-man exclaimed:

"There are so few of us it is folly to stand here."

Captain Parker heard the remark, and answered:

"The first man who offers to run shall be shot down."*

On came the British, almost on the run,† the light companies of the Tenth Regiment in advance.‡ At their head rode Major John Pitcairn and two other mounted officers.**

"Stand your ground," exclaimed Parker; "don't fire unless fired upon. But if they want to have a war let it begin here!"††

Major Pitcairn galloped up to within six rods of Captain Parker's foremost line, and exclaimed:

"Lay down your arms, you damned rebels, and disperse."

Captain Parker, seeing the utter hopelessness of armed resistance, gave the order to disperse and not to fire.‡‡ He did not, however, order his men to lay down their arms. Evidently Pitcairn wished to disarm them, for while they were dispersing he shouted again: —

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* Depositions of Robert Douglass and of Joseph Underwood.

† Deposition of William Draper.

‡ Historical Memoirs of the 52nd Regiment copied in Evelyn's Memoirs, pages 56-7.

** Depositions of Thomas Fessenden and of John Robbins.

†† When this scene was re-enacted in 1822, William Munroe, Orderly Sergeant under Parker that morning, repeated the words of Captain Parker as above quoted, and added: "Them are the very words that Captain Parker said." Report of the Committee on Historical Monuments and Tablets, 1884. Paul Revere heard Captain Parker say: "Let the troops pass by and don't molest them without they begin first." See Revere's Narrative.

‡‡ Deposition of Captain John Parker.

"Damn you, why don't you lay down your arms?*

But no answer came back, and each one of Capt. Parker's little band retiring from the field, carried his gun with him.

Then one of the other mounted officers, about two rods behind Pitcairn, name unknown, brandished his sword and the regulars huzzaed in unison. He then pointed his pistol towards the minute-men and fired.†

Pitcairn was back to that officer, so did not see him fire. He heard the discharge, and easily might have mistaken it as coming from an enemy, for he had not authorized it himself.‡ Furious with passion he gave the order:

"Fire!"

There was hesitation to obey from his men, for he repeated:

"Fire, damn you, fire!"**

The first platoon of eight or nine men then fired, evidently over the heads of the minute-men, for none were killed or wounded.†† Pitcairn saw the effects of that volley and realized that his men did not aim to kill. Then came his next order:

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* Rev. Jonas Clarke.

† Deposition of Thomas Fessenden.

‡ The English contention is that the Americans fired first. See letter of W. S. Evelyn, who was with Percy; De Bernicre's Account, and Lieut. Col. Smith's Report. It seems to me of but little moment as to who fired first. The council of war, convened by Gen. Gage, April 18, wherein it was determined to march out and destroy the public stores of Massachusetts was the first real hostile act and could only lead to war. Major Pitcairn has denied that he authorized that first shot. I believe him to have been gruff and profane, but honest, brave, and faithful to his King. He died from wounds received in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

**Depositions of William Draper; of William Munroe; of Simon Winship; of John Munroe; and of John Bateman, a British soldier.

†† Deposition of William Wood.

"G —— d d —— n you, fire *at* them!"*

The second volley surely was fired to kill.

John Munroe, one of the minute-men in line, thought that the first volley was nothing but powder and so remarked to Ebenezer Munroe, who stood next to him. But as the second volley came quickly and with fatal effect, the latter answered that something more than powder was being used for he had received a wound in his arm, and, he added:

"I'll give them the guts of my gun."†

These two Munroes then deliberately fired at the British, though the smoke from the latter's guns prevented a deliberate and careful aim.‡ John Munroe, after retreating about ten rods, loaded a second time, with two balls, and fired, but the charge was too heavy, and he lost about a foot from the muzzle end of his gun.**

Jonas Parker, cousin to the Captain, was mortally wounded through the body,†† from the second volley, but having sufficient strength, fired in return. He had but just uttered his determination not to run, and had placed his hat on the ground at his feet, and in it put his bullets and extra flints. The British bullet in his body caused him to sink to his knees, but he heroically endeavored to reload. He could not, before the advancing enemy were upon him,

* MSS. narrative of Levi Harrington, a youthful spectator.

† Deposition of John Munroe.

‡ Deposition of John Munroe.

** MSS. narrative of Levi Harrington, and Deposition of John Munroe.

†† MSS. Narrative of Levi Harrington.

and one of them ended his sufferings with a bayonet thrust.*

Jonathan Harrington, Jr., was mortally wounded, but staggered towards his home, on the northerly end of the Common. He fell before reaching there, struggled to his feet again, and staggered almost to his own door, where he expired, just as his wife rushed to meet him. He fell near the barn, then standing in what is now Bedford Street.†

Ensign Robert Munroe was killed while attempting to escape. He was just at the edge of the Common, by the wall at Merriam's barn.‡ His daughter, Anna, wife of Daniel Harrington, who lived at the northerly end of the Common, must have seen the tragedy, as must also his two sons, Ebenezer and John, and his two sons-in-law, Daniel Harrington and Lieut. Tidd, all four in line with Captain Parker.

When Parker directed such of his force as were without ammunition to proceed into the meeting-house near by, and supply themselves from the town's stock, as we have written, Joseph Comee, Caleb Harrington and Joshua Simonds entered the sacred edifice for that purpose. Simonds succeeded in getting down from the upper loft to the first balcony, two quarter casks of powder, and had removed the head from one.** The opening volley, but a few rods away, indicated to him that hostilities had commenced. He expected to meet his

* Deposition of William Munroe.
† MSS. Narrative of Levi Harrington.
‡ MSS. Narrative of Levi Harrington.
** Phinney's History of the Battle of Lexington.

fate. Pointing his gun to the open cask he resolved to blow up the meeting-house, himself and his enemies, rather than to have them enter and capture him.* Comee and Harrington attempted to escape, and were running from the westerly end of the meeting-house, when the former was shot and instantly killed,† and the latter wounded in the arm. He made his way to the Marrett Munroe house, passed through it and out of the back door, and escaped over the hill at the rear.

Then with savage ferocity the British rushed on, hunting down the fleeing minute-men, as they attempted to escape in all directions. A mounted officer, supposed to be Pitcairn, pursued William Tidd up the North road (now Hancock Street), about thirty rods, calling out to him:

"Damn you, stop, or you are a dead man!"

Thereupon Tidd leaped over a pair of bars, made a stand and discharged his gun at his pursuer, who then retreated to the main body.‡

Solomon Brown was not idle. Though not in line with Captain Parker's men, he was an active participant. After their second volley, he opened fire from the back door of Buckman's Tavern, and then in order to get a better shot, passed through to the front door, and fired from there. The British retaliated with a return volley, and the bullet holes in the old building still vouch for it. John Buckman, the landlord, remonstrated with Brown, against having his house used as a fort, so the latter

* Deposition of Ebenezer Munroe.

† MSS. Narrative of Levi Harrington.

‡ Deposition of William Tidd.

took a new position, lying down behind a neighboring stone wall back of the barn, and opened fire again.* The British again responded. Their leaden bullets spattered against the wall and from their impact little clouds of stone dust like smoke, told a witness where they struck.† Brown's aim was at an officer, and group of soldiers, and subsequently Abijah Harrington saw a pool of blood on the ground where they stood.‡

John Brown and Samuel Hadley were killed on the edge of the swamp, a little way to the north of the Common. They were retreating, but not beyond the reach of their pursuers' bullets.**

Asahel Porter, unarmed, non-combatant, and who had been brought up from Menotomy with Josiah Richardson as prisoners, was killed a few rods over the wall in Buckman's garden, to the eastward of the Tavern. He had been liberated with other prisoners, and had been cautioned not to *run*, but walk away. After walking a little distance he felt impelled to run, and was pursued by a British bullet, with fatal effect. Richardson walked away, and safely escaped.

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* Miss Mary Merriam, ninety years of age in 1887, reported to Edward P. Bliss, that she had heard her father say (and he was thirteen years old when the battle took place) that on that morning some who would not stand up for their country believed the British would not fire on *them*. They were at the Tavern. The British fired on them, however, and they promptly retreated to the cellar and attic. Edward P. Bliss in Lexington Hist. Society Proceedings, I, 71.

† Depositions of William Munroe, minute-man, and of Elijah Sanderson, spectator. Also statement of Rufus Merriam, spectator, then in his thirteenth year, to Rev. A. B. Muzzey. Young Merriam overheard Buckman's remonstrance. Muzzey's Battle of Lexington, page 6. MSS. Narrative of Levi Harrington.

‡ MSS. Narrative of Levi Harrington; Deposition of Abijah Harrington.

**MSS. Narrative of Levi Harrington, who, however, erroneously names them John Parker and Isaac Hadley.

The work of the British on Lexington Common, occupying less than half an hour, was now finished. Their casualties were slight, one man of the Tenth Regiment wounded in the thigh, another in the hand, and Major Pitcairn's horse shot in two places.* The killing of the minute-men, had, however, wrought the rank and file up to a frenzied pitch of excitement, so much so, that the officers had difficulty in forming them into line again.† They succeeded though. In the meantime the main body under Lieut. Col. Smith arrived, and when they were all in marching order a volley was fired, and huzzas shouted as an expression of victory, and then they proceeded on their way.‡ Just then the sun rose on this new field of battle.**

Again the fife and drum, at first harsh and loud, echoing against the neighboring hills; then fainter and fainter, as the troops marched up and over the summit of Concord Hill, a mile away.

And when they were indeed gone, the men and women and children of Lexington came forth from their hiding places and looked upon the scene. We of today, have never seen our Common as they saw it, its turf torn with horses' hoofs, and clotted here and there with human blood; with prostrate figures of men, some with faces upward to the sky, others

* A British officer in Boston in 1775, De Bernicre's Account, Report of Lieut.-Col. Smith, Statement of a British Prisoner as recited in Ebenezer Munroe's Deposition.

† A British Officer in Boston in 1775.

‡ Rev. Jonas Clarke, an eye-witness of this incident.

**At 5.19 A. M. Astronomical Diary and Almanack for 1775, by Nathaniel Low.

with theirs smothered helplessly in the dust. One might almost think they were asleep.

Such was the fulfilment of their solemn pledge, that they stood ready to sacrifice "*everything dear in life, yea and life itself, in support of the common cause.*"*

Strong and willing arms then bore all of those precious dead into the house of God. And we can imagine, as they came forth, that their faces were turned towards Concord Hill, shining with a patriot's full meaning. We can go with them through the day, as they join the men of Acton; of Concord; — men from all over Middlesex, and Essex, and Norfolk Counties, who also stood so ready to defend the common cause, yea, even with life itself!

The dead on or near Lexington Common were Jonas Parker, Jonathan Harrington, Jr., Ensign Robert Munroe, Isaac Muzzy, John Brown, Samuel Hadley, Caleb Harrington, and Asahel Porter. The wounded were John Robbins, so that he could not write his name or even make his mark;† Solomon Pierce; John Tidd, sabre cut on his head by a British officer;‡ Joseph Comee, on his arm;‡ Ebenezer Munroe, Jr., on his arm; **Thomas Winship; Nathaniel Farmer; Prince Estabrook (colored) and Jedediah Munroe (who was killed later in the day).

Hardly had the soldiers of King George reached the summit of Concord Hill, a mile away, ere stragglers, wearing the same uniform, were seen coming up the road, apparently

* From a patriotic resolution passed in Town Meeting in December, 1773. Hudson's History of Lexington, page 92.

† His deposition April 24, 1775.

‡ MSS. Narrative of Levi Harrington.

** His deposition.

without fear or guile. There were five in all, but as they came singly or in twos, were not looked upon as dangerous belligerents. Joshua Simonds emerging from the meeting-house, captured the first one, took his gun away, and gave it to Captain Parker.* Deacon Benjamin Brown captured one.† Joshua Reed, of Woburn, captured one, took away his gun and other warlike equipments and turned him over to James Reed of Burlington,‡ then called Woburn Precinct. Two more were taken on or near the Common, and their arms, or those of two Britons at all events, carried into Buckman Tavern by Ebenezer Munroe, later given to minute-men, who had none of their own.**

Another prisoner, the sixth, was captured by Sylvanus Wood of Woburn, the man who joined Captain Parker's Company, and stood in line to receive the first volley, as the British marched into sight. When they marched away he followed on, up over Concord and Fiske Hills. Arriving at a turn in the road, beyond the latter, he came unexpectedly upon a soldier who for some good reason had dropped out of the ranks. He was seated at the roadside, and his gun leaned at rest beyond his reach. Wood was a little man, about five feet tall, but large in valor. So he demanded the surrender of his enemy. Helpless as he was he could only comply, and Wood marched him back to

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* This gun descended to his grandson, Rev. Theodore Parker, who gave it to the State of Massachusetts. Bradford Smith in Lexington Hist. Soc. Proceedings, II, 145.

† Deposition of Abijah Harrington.

‡ Deposition of James Reed.

** Deposition of Ebenezer Munroe.

Lexington Common and placed him in the charge of a Mr. Welsh.*

This prisoner also was captured in Lexington, at the bluff near the Bull Tavern, later kept by Mr. Viles. It stood not far from the Lincoln line. He and four of the others taken on Lexington Common were escorted to James Reed's in Burlington by Thomas R. Willard, William Munroe, and E. Welsh.†

LIEUT. COL. SMITH'S ADVANCE THROUGH LINCOLN.

The march of the British from Lexington Common to the Lincoln line and thence through the Town of Lincoln and into Concord to Meriam's Corner, a distance of a little over five miles, was without unusual incidents. That part of Lincoln through which they passed is the edge of the town, and then, as now, but sparsely settled. The village of Lincoln is considerably to the westward, fortunately, and thus most of the inhabitants were too remote for insult or more serious trouble. The men of Lincoln, however, were not unmindful of the enemy's movements, as we shall see later on. In the woods that bordered the highway, the British saw some of them,‡but not in sufficient number evidently to oppose their advance.

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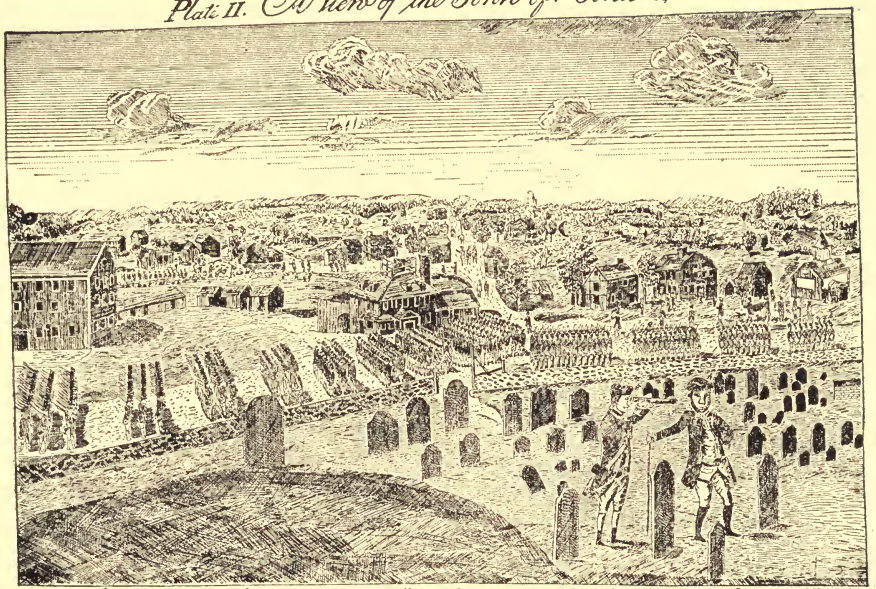
* Mt. Vernon Papers by Edward Everett, page 430. Everett, a member of Congress in 1826, secured a pension of $96 per year for Wood. Once, when the latter was in Washington he introduced him to President Jackson. See also the History of Woburn, by Sewall, who received his information from Wood's son. Also see the deposition of Wood.

† Deposition of E. Welsh.

‡ Deposition of Lieut. Edward Thornton Gould, a British prisoner.

Plate II. A View of the Town of Concord



1 Companies of the Regulars marching into Concord
2 Companies of Regulars drawn up in order
3 A Detachment destroying the Provincial Stores
4 & 5 Colonel Smith & Major Pitcairn viewing the Provincials who were mustering on an high Hill in Concord
6 The Townhouse 7 The Meetinghouse

A Oxford Sculp

LIEUT. COL. SMITH'S ADVANCE INTO CONCORD.

From Meriam's Corner in Concord to the centre of Concord village is about a mile and a quarter. From the Corner and on the northerly side of the road, commences a line of hills rising fully sixty feet,* or more above the road, which skirts along their edges, and perhaps an eighth of mile from, and parallel to, their summits. The ridge commands very easily and nicely the road, for the entire distance, and was looked upon by both sides as a desirable place to occupy. Captain Nathan Barrett and his company of Concord militia had occupied that part of it near the meeting-house from about an hour after sunrise, for they had received the intelligence of the killing of six Americans at Lexington.† Capt. George Minot and his company of minute-men, assembled there also.‡ Farther along the ridge, towards Meriam's Corner, other Americans had taken position,** probably as individuals. It was about two hours after sunrise when the enemy came into sight.††

As Lieut. Col. Smith came into view of this location he saw the body of provincials along the ridge, and quickly decided to dislodge them. The light infantry were ordered to that work, and they succeeded in forcing the Americans back to the village. The grenadiers continued along the road, driving before them there,

* U. S. Geological Survey, 1886.

† Deposition of Capt. Nathan Barrett and fifteen others, all of Concord.

‡ Diary of Rev. William Emerson.

** Deposition of Lieut. Edward Thornton Gould, British.

†† Deposition of Capt. Nathan Barrett and fifteen others.

Captain David Brown's Company of Concord minute-men, who had marched up from the village as far as Meriam's Corner, on a scouting trip. When the British were seen descending from the hills of Lincoln, they halted, and when the enemy came within about one hundred rods, wheeled about and marched back to the village, the fifes and drums of both forces playing.*

On the hill not far from the village stood the Liberty Pole, from the summit of which some kind of a flag was flying. The British cut it down.†

It was between seven and eight o'clock, when the enemy reached Concord village.‡ The march from Lexington must have been a steady one, without interruption. The distance is about six and a quarter miles and the elapsed time about two hours. The entire distance from Lechmere Point is about seventeen miles, sufficiently long, even thus far, to weary many of the soldiers. Add to the length of the march, their loss of sleep, before starting, and the excitement on Lexington Common, it is easy to imagine that a few halts for rest were allowed, though an anxiety to accomplish their errand would not have permitted of unnecessary delays.

Their advance into Concord village compelled the Americans to move along to an adjoining hill just to the northward, which they subse-

* Capt. Amos Barrett's Account, who was then present as a member of Brown's Company.

† A British Officer in Boston in 1775.

‡ De Bernicre, the British authority who was present, states the time as being between nine and ten o'clock, but I follow Captain Barrett and fifteen others who state in their deposition that it was about two hours after sunrise.

quently abandoned, and marched still farther along, passing over the North Bridge and taking a stronger position on Punkatasset Hill whose summit is fully two hundred feet * higher than Concord River, and perhaps half a mile from the bridge, and rather more than a mile from the village itself. It was their third position, and then about eight o'clock in the morning.†

Reaching Concord village Lieut.-Col. Smith proceeded at once to carry out the plan of his expedition, viz., the destruction of the military stores. Ensign De Bernicre acted as guide to where they could be found, for he had been one of the spies sent out by Gen. Gage for the express purpose of locating them.

Smith found but few people in the village, for the able-bodied men were with their companies, and many of the non-combatants had considered other places more secure. Some, however, remained, and the British officers labored to convince them that no bodily harm was intended.

Pitcairn was especially active in that diplomatic work, but insisting all the time that their doors must be unlocked that the soldiers might search their premises. Many would not submit peaceably to such an indignity, and one of those old men of Concord, had the courage to strike Major John Pitcairn in the presence of the King's soldiers.‡ We can imagine this incident happened before that doughty officer entered Wright's Tavern, and called for liquor,

* U. S. Geological Survey, 1886.

† Frederic Hudson in Harper's Magazine, May, 1875.

‡ Lieut.-Col. Smith's report.

into which he plunged his finger to stir the sweetening. Some of the precious fluid slopped over, which he likened to the way Yankee blood should spill ere nightfall, a remark possibly inspired by his over-wrought feelings at the affront.

Captain Lawrence Parsons of the Tenth Regiment, with six light companies, was immediately despatched for the North Bridge, distance three quarters of a mile. There he left Capt. Walter Sloane Lawrie of the Forty-third Regiment, with three of the companies for guard duty, while he proceeded with the other three companies, guided by Ensign De Bernicre over the bridge and up the left bank of the Concord River and its northerly branch, the Assabet River, to the home of Colonel Barrett,* almost two miles from the bridge.†

Capt. Lawrie, arriving near the bridge, assigned one company of the Forty-third Regiment to the bridge itself, one of the Tenth Regiment, to a nearby hill, and one of the Fourth or King's Own Regiment to another hill a quarter of a mile farther away,‡ so arranged as to be within supporting distance of each other.**

After the six companies under Parsons had departed Lieut.-Col. Smith sent Capt. Mundy Pole of the Tenth Regiment with a force, towards the South Bridge, incidentally for guard duty there, and in particular to destroy

* De Bernicre and Editor's Note to Diary of a British Officer.

† 1⅞ miles, to be exact.

‡ Editor's Note in A British Officer in Boston in 1775, and Deposition of Lieut. Edward Thornton Gould, British officer present.

** De Bernicre.

such military stores as they might find.* The distance from the village to the bridge is almost a mile.† They went a little beyond, to the homes of Amos and Ephraim Wood, and in the vicinity of Lee's Hill.‡

Within the village the British were very active in their search for the military supplies. Public buildings, stores, and private dwellings were alike examined. At the malt house of Ebenezer Hubbard a considerable quantity of flour was discovered, and the end boards of the building were pulled off, that the barrels might the easier and faster be rolled out into the road, where they were broken open, and the contents mixed with the dust.** At the store house of Timothy Wheeler, another lot of flour was found, which the miller, by a little artifice, saved. It was indeed public property, but Wheeler, placing his hand upon the bags of meal, one after another, and which stood with the flour, assured the soldiers that he was a miller, and that they were his.

They were considerate enough to spare his personal property, and included the flour.††

At the neighboring grist-mill several barrels were seized, and rolled to or into the mill pond, but part was subsequently saved, as it hardly reached the water.‡‡

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* De Bernicre.

† ⅝ mile to be exact.

‡ Frederic Hudson, in Harper's Magazine, May, 1875.

** Ripley, Rev. Ezra. History of the Fight at Concord.

†† Ripley.

‡‡ The old mill-pond occupied a goodly portion of the land bounded by Lexington Road, Heywood, Walden, and Main Streets, the northerly corner almost reaching Wright's Tavern. Subsequently it was filled in and now stores and dwellings occupy its entire area.

Deacon Thomas Barrett, brother of Colonel Barrett, was a resident of the village. He was an aged man, and remained quietly in or near his home while the soldiers were busy in looting and destroying. He was a man of gentle demeanor, and unarmed, but they seized him, called him rebel, and even threatened to take his life. He pleaded with them to dispense with that trouble, for his extreme age meant that he should soon die anyway. They permitted him to go in peace. In his building was a gun-factory carried on by his son, Samuel Barrett.*

BATTLE AT NORTH BRIDGE IN CONCORD.

In the meantime large numbers of Americans were gathering on the hills to the northward beyond the river. The commander of the British at the North Bridge and vicinity was not unmindful of that, and deemed it wise to concentrate his little army of three companies at the bridge itself, as that seemed to be the threatened point of attack. Consequently the two remoter companies were marched down from the hills and joined the third, and then all three marched to the easterly or nearer end of the bridge.

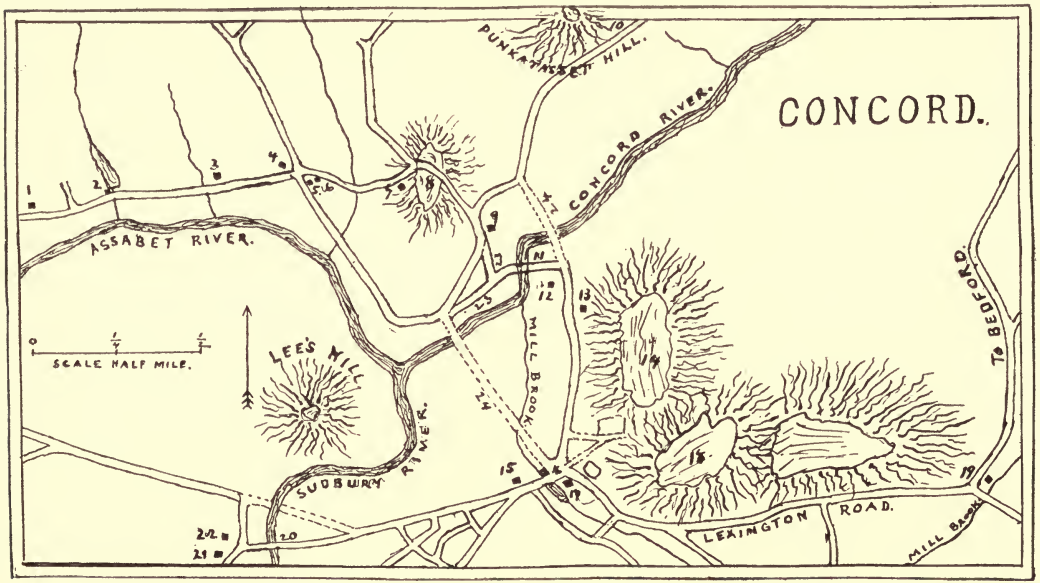
About a quarter of a mile beyond the North Bridge, and in a westerly direction from it, is a little hill about forty feet higher than the river.† To reach it by road from the bridge meant traveling over two sides of an irregular

* Ripley.

† U. S. Geological Survey, 1886.

Plate III *The Engagement at the North Bridge in Concord.*

1 The Detachment of the Regulars who fired first on the Provincials at the Bridge | 2 The Provincials headed by Colonel Robinson & Major Buttrick 3 The Bridge.



1. Col. Barrett. 2. Barrett's Mill. 3. John Handley. 4. John White's Store. 5. Widow Brown's Tavern. 6. J. Davis. 7. John Brown. 8. Fourth American Position. 9. Major Buttrick. 10. Third American Position. 11. North Bridge. 12. Rev. Mr. Emerson. 13. Elisha Jones. 14. Second American Position. 15. Capt. Eph. Jones's Tavern. 16. Grist Mill. 17. Wright's Tavern. 18. First American Position. 19. Meriam's Corner. 20. South Bridge, 21, Lieut. Jos. Hosmer. 22. Eph. Wood. 23. Discontinued Roads. 24, New Roads.

triangle, and going nearly half a mile.* The crest of the elevation commands a beautiful view up and down the river, with the North Bridge in the middle foreground, and the village nearly a mile away to the southward.

The Americans moved forward from Punkatasset Hill to this, their fourth position, at about nine o'clock, as their reinforcements had augmented sufficiently to induce a growing feeling of aggressiveness. Here were assembling the sturdy men of Concord and of Acton; of Bedford, Lincoln, and Carlisle, and of other neighboring towns. Joseph Hosmer acted as Adjutant, forming the soldiers as they arrived, the minute companies on the right and the militia on the left, facing the bridge.†

Col. James Barrett summoned his subordinate officers for a council of war, the first one of the American Revolution, and while they were so engaged, Captain Isaac Davis and his company of minute-men from Acton arrived, and marched to a position on the left of the line, as they had been accustomed to on training-days. After halting his little command, Capt. Davis joined his brother officers in their council of war.

There were then assembled on that little hill, four Concord companies, commanded respectively by Capt. David Brown, fifty-two men; Capt. Charles Miles, fifty-two men; Capt. George Minot, number of men unknown; and Capt. Nathan Barrett, number of men also unknown. From Acton there were three com-

* The road forming one side of the triangle, and leading from the bridge, has been discontinued and now appears only as a part of the river meadow.

† Lemuel Shattuck as quoted by Josiah Adams, page 27.

panies, one under Capt. Isaac Davis, thirty-eight men; one under Capt. Joseph Robins, number of men unknown; and one under Capt. Simon Hunt,* number of men also unknown. There were two companies from Bedford, one being under Capt. John Moore, fifty-one men; and the other under Capt. Jonathan Willson, twenty-eight men. A little later Captain Willson was killed and his command fell to Lieut. Moses Abbott. Lincoln was represented by Capt. William Smith with sixty-two men.†

In addition to these regular organized soldiers, there were many individuals present, who undoubtedly took a patriotic part in the subsequent events, and easily constituted the American force as one of at least four hundred and ninety.

These men looked down on the hostile troops at the Bridge, and beyond the river to the village, where huge volumes of smoke were rising from the bonfires of military stores. These seemed to them as the burning of their homes. Inspired by that fear, and by their knowledge of the bloodshed at Lexington, they were ready to follow where their officers should lead. Their council could only decide in one way:

"*To march into the middle of the town for its defence, or die in the attempt.*"‡

Col. Barrett then gave the order to Major John Buttrick to lead an advance over the Bridge and to the centre of the town. And his

* Statement of Aaron Jones, a member, in Adams's Address, page 21.

† Affidavit of Amos Baker, a member.

‡ Survivors testified that both Major Buttrick and Capt. Davis used these words. See Ripley's History of the Concord Fight.

instructions were like those of Captain Parker a few hours before, not to fire unless fired upon.

It was then between nine and ten o'clock.* Col. Barrett retired to the rear on higher ground,† and Major Buttrick hastened to execute his order. His choice for a company to lead was naturally one from Concord, but the Captain of that one replied that he would rather not.‡ We wonder at the reason, for Concord seemed to be the most deeply concerned just at that hour. However, it could not have been for lack of courage, for the Concord companies were a part of that advance. Then Buttrick turned to Capt. Davis, and asked him if he was afraid to go. Davis promptly responded:

"No, I am not; and there isn't a man in my company that is."**

He immediately gave the command to march, and the men of Acton wheeled from the left of the line to the right, and were the first to march upon the invaders.

Major John Buttrick of Concord led in person this little army down the slope towards the river, but not until he had offered the command to a superior officer who happened to be present, but without a command, Lieut.-Col. John Robinson of Prescott's Regiment. Robinson lived in Westford, and had responded to the alarm. Magnanimously he refused the honor to lead, but with characteristic bravery, begged that he might march by Buttrick's side, which

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* Journal of Capt. David Brown, Commander of one of the Concord companies, as quoted by Adams, page 32.

† Ripley.

‡ Deposition of Bradley Stone.

** Depositions of Bradley Stone and Solomon Smith.

the latter acceded to. These were the two men in front of all the American host to first march against the soldiers of their King.

Then came Captain Isaac Davis and his company of thirty-seven men from Acton. Then next, a Concord company under Charles Miles. Then two more Concord companies under Capt. David Brown and Capt. Nathan Barrett.* Another company from Acton, then fell into line, the one commanded by Capt. Simon Hunt. They were just turning the corner of the main road when the firing at the bridge took place.† By order of Col. Barrett the companies from Bedford and Lincoln next fell into line. The march was by twos, and to the tune of "The White Cockade," played by two young fifers, Luther Blanchard of Davis's Acton company, and John Buttrick of Brown's Concord company.‡

Down the road, now discontinued, in a southerly direction to the point of the triangle, then back towards the Bridge in an easterly direction, in all about a quarter of a mile, they marched.** The British watched the advance keenly, and when the southerly point of the triangle was reached, and the columns wheeled left towards the Bridge, they commenced to pull up the planks. Major Buttrick, in a loud voice, ordered them to desist, whereupon they left the Bridge and hastily formed for action in the road just beyond the easterly end. Then

* Corporal Amos Barrett of Brown's Company indicates Davis's as first and his own company as third. The exact order of the other participating companies I am unable to give.

† Statement of Aaron Jones, a member, to Mr. Adams. See Adams's Address, page 21.

‡ Frederic Hudson.

** Doolittle picture. Adams, 1835. Frothingham, 1851.

came the report of the first hostile gun in the battle of Concord, fired from the British ranks. Solomon Smith,* a member of Davis's Acton company, saw where the ball struck the river, on his right, which then ran nearly parallel to the road. This was quickly followed by two others, but they were not thought by the Americans to be aimed at them either.

Still onward marched Major Buttrick and his little band. They soon came nearly to the Bridge, when a sudden volley from the British indicated their serious intention to check the American advance. Luther Blanchard, the fifer from Acton, was slightly wounded.†

Major Buttrick heard his cry of anguish, and almost jumping into the air, exclaimed:

"Fire, for God's sake, fire!"

The order was obeyed. The British responded, killing Capt. Davis and one of his privates, Abner Hosmer. Davis on realizing that Blanchard was wounded had taken a firmer position on a flat stepping-stone, and while aiming his gun received a bullet through his heart. Hosmer was killed by a bullet through his head.‡ Ezekiel Davis, brother of the Captain, and a private in his company, was wounded, as was also Joshua Brooks of Lincoln, whose forehead was slightly cut by a bullet which continued through his hat.**

The opening volley of the Americans was also effective, killing one private, and wounding

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* Deposition of Solomon Smith.

† Deposition of Solomon Smith.

‡ Frederic Hudson.

** Deposition of Amos Baker.

Lieut. Hull of the Forty-third Regiment; Lieut. Gould of the Fourth; Lieut. Kelly of the Tenth; Lieut. Sutherland of the Thirty-eighth; and a number of the rank and file.

The Americans under Major Buttrick advanced and the three British companies, under Lowrie, gave way, and retreated towards Concord village. They were met on the way by reinforcements consisting of two or three companies headed by Lieut.-Col. Smith himself, who was responding to a very urgent request for assistance from Capt. Lowrie, sent just before the engagement began. Smith being a "very fat, heavy man," according to the testimony of one of his officers, who has left an interesting diary for our perusal,* instead of reaching Lowrie at the Bridge met him but a little way out of the village.

From the moment of that heroic advance of the Americans over the bridge, military discipline among them ceased.† They rushed after the retreating British but a few rods, then proceeded to an eminence on the east side of the road back of Elisha Jones's house, taking position there behind a stone wall, and perhaps an eighth of a mile from where the British halted when they were met by their reinforcements.‡

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* A British Officer in Boston in 1775. See also Rev. Mr. Emerson's account, who speaks of the "marches and counter-marches for half an hour," and their "great fickleness and inconstancy of mind." Smith can hardly be blamed for nervousness at that moment with part of his eight hundred men at Col. Barrett's, five hundred Americans between, and another part of his force at the South Bridge.

† "Our company and most of the others pursued, but in great disorder." Deposition of Thomas Thorp of the Acton Company. "The loss of our Captain was the cause of much of the confusion that followed." Deposition of Solomon Smith of the Acton Company.

‡ Deposition of Solomon Smith.

Why the Americans turned aside instead of pursuing their enemies into Concord village as they had resolved to do, can only be surmised. Why they gave no heed to the small force still behind them up the river, engaged in destroying American property at Col. Barrett's, excites our wonder, too. Not lack of personal courage surely, but rather a lack of military experience.

While these scenes were being enacted at the North Bridge, the British force above alluded to, and consisting of three companies under Capt. Parsons, had gone up the river, to the home of Col. Barrett, nearly two miles from the Bridge. They were under the direct guidance of the spy, Ensign De Bernicre, who had previously gone over the road, and made himself familiar with its topography, and particularly with the hiding of military stores among the homes along the way. He knew thoroughly well of those at Col. Barrett's, and that place above all others was the principal objective.

Early that morning the men in the Barrett family had busied themselves in securing the Colonial stores. They had plowed a tract of land about thirty feet square, south of the old barn and later used as a kitchen garden. One guided a yoke of oxen, in turning over the furrows, into which others dropped the muskets that had been stored in the house. Succeeding furrows covered them nicely. Musket balls were carried to the attic, put into the bottoms of barrels which were then filled with feathers.* Other munitions were hidden in the adjoining woods.†

* Sidney, Margaret. Old Concord, Her Highways and Byways.
† Rev. Mr. Emerson's Narrative.

When the soldiers reached there they found the homestead in care of the venerable wife of Col. Barrett. Capt. Parsons explained his mission, and assured her it was his aim to destroy public property only, and to capture Col. Barrett.* They commenced their search, but did not find as much as expected.† Nor did they capture the commander of the minute-men.

While this work was in progress, Col. Barrett's son, Stephen, a young man of about twenty-five years, returned from his mission, up the river road to Price Plain, to intercept minute-men expected from Stow, Harvard, and other towns in that vicinity. He wished to inform them of the danger surrounding his own home, that they might travel by some other road into Concord.

Reaching the kitchen door of his own home he was met by a British officer, who, thinking he might be Col. Barrett, placed him under arrest. Upon learning from Mrs. Barrett, however, of his mistake, that he was her son, the young man was released.‡ Another son, James, Jr., being lame and inactive, did not attract any hostile attention.**

So successfully had Col. Barrett and his numerous assistants secreted the large amount of provincial property left in his charge, that Capt. Parsons found but little to confiscate or destroy. He seized and burned a few gun-carriages in the road near the house.††

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* Sidney.

† De Bernicre.

‡ Sidney, page 23.

** Frederic Hudson. The Concord Fight in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, May, 1875.

†† Ripley.

This was the remotest point of the British invasion. The three companies at Col. Barrett's had by far the longest route of any, by several miles. After a night without sleep, and so long a march they were hungry and thirsty, and Mrs. Barrett was requested to supply their wants. She was in no position to refuse. Some, if not all, were willing to pay for what they had, but the good lady refused, saying:

"We are commanded to feed our enemy if he hunger."

Some, however, insisted, and on leaving tossed their money into her lap. She could only exclaim:

"It is the price of blood!"*

The object of their mission being accomplished, so far as within their power, they set out for a return march to the village by the same roundabout route over the North Bridge, as they came. When at Widow Brown's Tavern at the cross roads, within about a mile of the Bridge, they halted and three or four officers entered the house for drink. The soldiers sat at the roadside, and drink was carried out to them. Pay was offered to Mrs. Brown by the officers, but she declined to receive it. Charles Handley, a youth in his thirteenth year, and a native of Concord, was living there, and has left his sworn statement, that he then heard the guns at the Bridge, but that the British did not appear to notice them. It was then generally understood that they knew nothing of the engagement until their arrival at the scene, and saw the British slain.†

* Frederic Hudson.

† Charles Handley's Deposition.

There were two, one having been killed instantly, and the other, at first wounded, and while helpless, despatched with a savage cut in the head with a hatchet. It seems that after the British had been driven from the Bridge and the Americans had also passed in pursuit, a young man employed by Rev. William Emerson, at the Old Manse (still standing, 1912), came forth to view the field of strife. He saw the wounded Briton attempting to arise, and in a thoughtless moment, conceived it his patriotic duty to kill him. He did so, as the soldier was on his knees, in a futile attempt to stand. The hatchet sank deep into his skull, and the blood gushed forth, and covered the top of his head, as he sank back to Concord battle ground. A little later the British force under Capt. Parsons passed him on their way to the village. They could only shudder, and bear away the impression, which was subsequently published, that the Americans had scalped and cut off the ears of their enemies.* The young man who did the deed lived many years, and often confessed that his conscience had been sorely troubled.†

The men under Captain Parsons were thus permitted to join the main body of British very much to their surprise, and which was forcibly expressed by Ensign De Bernicre in his account of the battle.‡ As we have seen, the main body

* Deposition of Zechariah Brown and Thomas Davis, Jr., who buried the two soldiers in a common grave near where they fell. A memorial stone marks the spot.

† I have his name, but do not think it best to insert it in this narrative. Revenge was deeply impressed on his mind by the bitterness of public feeling against the mother country. He was too young to exercise proper judgment in separating the soldier from his King.

‡ See De Bernicre's Account.

of the Americans halted on the high ground to the eastward of the Elisha Jones house. From that moment to the arrival of the British at Charlestown Neck, no one seemed to be in command, and discipline of any kind was not attempted.

While military critics cannot endorse the kind of warfare employed by the Americans on that day, almost if not quite of a guerilla nature, yet it must be confessed that their death roll was much smaller and their success, in some respects much greater, than it would have been had they fought as an army, in the open, under some brave commander. The British, on the other hand, were ever in the highway, standing or marching in a solid formation. The Americans were never more than a dozen or a score, side by side, and usually not more than two or three. Their selected position was a sheltered one; behind the walls; among the trees; even within the houses. Often the vigilant flank-guard, which Lieut.-Col. Smith counted upon so intelligently, came upon them unawares, and so added to the American death roll. Had they known the value of the flanking movements, and still fought as individuals as they did from the North Bridge to Charlestown Neck, but few would have been slain.

As we have seen, the Americans halted on the high ground to the eastward of Elisha Jones's house. They felt that when the retreating British were reinforced, they would return and renew the struggle. In their strong position behind the stone wall they had no cause to fear an assault, for the advantage would be greatly with them. But Lieut.-Col.

Smith also realized as much and turned his troops back into Concord village.

Several of the minute-men then returned to the North Bridge, and conveyed the bodies of Capt. Isaac Davis and private Abner Hosmer to the home of Major Buttrick, which stood near the spot from which they started on their fatal march.* Later in the day they were conveyed to Acton.

Such was the baptism of Concord soil with the blood of its brave defenders.

Captain Mundy Pole of the Tenth Regiment with one hundred men, had been detailed by Lieut.-Col. Smith for guard duty at the South Bridge. He was also instructed to destroy any public stores that he might find in that vicinity.

The Bridge is nearly a mile southerly from the village, and in an opposite direction from the North Bridge, the two being nearly two miles apart.

Captain Pole reached there about eight o'clock, and promptly placed a guard at the Bridge to prevent any one passing into or out of the village. Then he foraged the immediate neighborhood for food and drink for his force, which was easily accomplished, as most of the able bodied men were absent on patriotic duties.

They searched the houses of Ephraim Wood, Joseph Hosmer and Amos Wood, but with slight success, for most of the stores once there had been secreted elsewhere. The Britons demeaned themselves nicely in this neighborhood and were generous enough to pay for what food they took. Each of the women at Amos

* Deposition of Solomon Smith.

Wood's house was presented with a guinea. In this home was one room pretty well filled with goods that were sought for. It was locked, but the gallant officer believing that women were hiding within, issued orders that none of his soldiers should enter it.

Capt. Mundy Pole's little expedition to this part of Concord, was not entirely without results, however. He succeeded in knocking off the trunnions of three iron twenty-four pounders, burning their carriages, destroying a small quantity of flour, and several barrels of trenchers and wooden spoons.*

Some of his soldiers ascended Lee's Hill, about one hundred feet † higher than, and overlooking, the river down to North Bridge. From there they could plainly see the growing excitement, as evidenced by the moving about of the minute-men, and the constant accession to their numbers. Finally there came echoing up the valley, the signal gun, then two more, then the volley; and they knew the scene on Lexington Common was being re-enacted.

They descended the Hill, and gathered with the others at the South Bridge, removed the planks therefrom to protect their retreat, and marched rapidly back to the main body in the village.‡

Lieut.-Col. Smith now commenced to realize his distance from Boston and the dangers that might lurk along the way. He had his entire force assembled in Concord village very soon after ten o'clock, but his many wounded soldiers

* De Bernicre.

† U. S. Geological Survey, 1886.

‡ Frederic Hudson.

required attention before he could begin his return march. Some of them were attended by Dr. Cumings and Dr. Minot, of the village.* As no provision had been made by the British commander for the transportation of his disabled soldiers, the people of Concord were called upon to supply the deficiency. A chaise was confiscated from Reuben Brown, and another from John Beaton. Bedding from near-by houses was added for the comfort of the riders. Several horses were taken, among them one belonging to Capt. Smith of the Lincoln Company, which he had, for some reason, left at Wright Tavern, before he marched for North Bridge. Lieut. Hayward of Concord, recaptured Reuben Brown's chaise from the regulars in Arlington, and with it a horse, bedquilt, pillow, etc., for the owners of which he advertised in the *Essex Gazette* of Aug. 10, 1775.†

Besides his wounded, Lieut.-Col. Smith had his able-bodied men to consider also. They had been without sleep since the time of starting from Boston Common, at half past ten o'clock the evening before, and possibly back to the night before that. They had already marched over seventeen miles to Concord village, and those who had gone to Col. Barrett's, and to the North and South Bridges, so much farther yet. They had passed through the exciting scenes of bloodshed at Lexington Common and North Bridge, which must have added agitated minds to weary bodies. His soldiers needed

* Frederic Hudson.

† Frederic Hudson.

rest and Smith knew it, and was justified in granting the two hours that he did.

Aside from those reasons Smith had another good one for not starting, at once. It will be remembered that when he had reached Arlington (Menotomy) realizing his march had aroused the entire community, he had sent back an urgent request to Gen. Gage for strong re-inforcements. He could reasonably expect them to reach any place that he had, within three hours at least, of his time. But unfortunately for Smith the forces under Percy had not started until nine o'clock that morning, and were then less than five miles on the way, and coming over a longer route than he had taken.*

The destruction of the public military stores, according to the report of Lieut.-Col. Smith, hardly balanced his loss of prestige even, to say nothing of the British lives that had been and would be given up in the cause. He gives his men credit for knocking the trunnions off from three field pieces of iron ordnance; destroying by fire some new gun carriages, and a great number of carriage wheels; and throwing into the river considerable flour, some powder, musket balls and other small articles. De Bernicre in his account, adds to the list, by mentioning barrels of trenchers and spoons of wood destroyed by Capt. Pole.

While the bonfire was consuming the cannon wheels, it was discovered that the Court

* In the Diary of A British Officer in Boston in 1775, and who was with Smith in the Concord expedition, he writes of the return to Lexington and the expected re-inforcements: "We had been flatter'd ever since the morning with the expectation of the Brigade coming out, but at this time had given up all hope of it, as it was so late."

House, facing the Green, was on fire. It was noticed by Mrs. Martha Moulton, an elderly widow who lived close by, and who had not fled with the younger part of the population as the enemy approached. She felt that her years, seventy-one, would be her protection, as indeed they were. She has left an interesting statement of the events of those few hours,—how her home was invaded by the soldiers for food and water; how Pitcairn and other officers sat before her door, watching the soldiers in their destructive work; how she discovered the Court House on fire, and how earnestly she pleaded with them to put it out, even bringing water for them to do so. At first they were indifferent, but finally yielded, and extinguished the flames. Thus was the Court House saved, and possibly some of the adjoining homes, by Martha Moulton.*

The provincial Congress, in their published account of the damages sustained in Concord, aside from the public stores, set the value at £274, 16s, 7 d. of which £3, 6s, was for broken locks in His Majesty's Jail.†

LIEUT.-COL. SMITH'S RETREAT THROUGH CONCORD.

It was about twelve o'clock when Lieut.-Col. Smith gave the order to march. As the neighboring hills were covered with provincials,‡ he

* Petition of Martha Moulton, Concord, Feb. 4, 1776, to the Honorable Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay for recognition of her services on that occasion.

† Journals of Each Provincial Congress.

‡ De Bernicre thought there could not have been less than five thousand rebels on the hills about Concord. His anxiety greatly multiplied the real number.

ordered out even larger bodies of flankers, and farther away from the main body in the highway. The march along the Lexington road for a little more than a mile to Meriam's Corner, was uneventful, but at that place the struggle was renewed. There the men of Concord, Acton, Lincoln, and Bedford, came within rifle shot of the highway. They had passed along the Great Meadow, so called, northerly from the range of hills near the highway, and reached Meriam's Corner at about the same time that Smith did.

New American forces joined the contest here also. Billerica sent Lieut. Crosby with twelve men; Capt. Edward Farmer, thirty-five men; and Capt. Jonathan Stickney, fifty-four men. Chelmsford sent Capt. Oliver Barron, sixty-one men, and Lieut. Moses Parker's company, forty-three men. Framingham sent Capt. Simon Edgett, seventy-six men; Capt. Jesse Emes, twenty-four men; Capt. Micajab Gleason, forty-nine men.* Reading sent, Capt. John Bacheller, sixty-one men; Capt. Thomas Eaton, sixty-three men; Capt. John Flint, seventy-nine men, and Capt. John Walton, eighty-eight men. Some of the Reading companies, at least, marched from home under Major, afterwards Governor, John Brooks. Rev. Edmund Foster accompanied Capt. Bacheller's company, as a volunteer, and has left an interesting narrative of what he saw. Sudbury sent Capt. Nathan Cudworth, forty men; Capt. Aaron Haynes, thirty-nine men; Capt. Isaac Locker, thirty men; Capt. John Nixon, fifty-

* Massachusetts Archives.

four men; Capt. Joseph Smith, forty-nine men, and Capt. Moses Stone, twenty-five men. Woburn sent Capt. Samuel Belknap, sixty-six men; Capt. Jonathan Fox, seventy-two men; and Capt. Joshua Walker, one hundred and sixteen men.

The American reinforcements coming in at Meriam's Corner numbered eleven hundred and thirty-seven, making a total of fifteen hundred and sixty-five enrolled men in the ranks of the Provincials if all at the North Bridge still remained in the fight.

There were many other minute-men anxious to be in the first struggle, but who lived too far away. Stow sent a company of militia belonging to Col. Prescott's regiment, commanded by Capt. William Whitcomb, numbering eighty-one men. They did not reach North Bridge until about noon, too late to be in the action there, but in ample time to be active in the pursuit. We are told that another company from Stow under Capt. Hapgood, also joined, but I find no returns in the Massachusetts State Archives.

Three companies from Westford reached the North Bridge too late, but were active afterwards. They were respectively under the command of Capt. Oliver Bates, thirty-six men; Capt. Jonathan Minot, thirty-six men; and Capt. Joshua Parker, forty-one men.

As the Reading men came along the road from Bedford, and nearing Meriam's Corner, they discovered the flank guard of the British just descending the ridge of hills. There were from eighty to one hundred red-coats, and they were marching slowly and deliberately down the hill, without music and without words. The Ameri-

cans were but a little over three hundred feet away. They halted and remained in silence watching their foes. The British flankers soon gained the main road, at the Corner, and passed along a few hundred feet towards Lincoln and Lexington, over the little bridge that spans Mill Brook. The Americans gathered around the Meriam house. As the British passed the bridge they wheeled suddenly and fired in volley, but too high, so no one was struck. Then the Americans returned the fire with better aim, and two Britons fell on the easterly side of the little stream, while several were wounded, among them Ensign Lester of the Tenth Regiment.*

Less than half a mile along that road, from Meriam's Corner, is the northerly corner of the town of Lincoln. Along on the edge of Lincoln the highway continues ; still in an easterly direction, for less than another half mile, this stretch being on rather higher ground, the northerly side of the road in Concord, the southerly side in Lincoln. On the Lincoln side is the Brooks Tavern (still standing, 1912). This little elevation is called Hardy's Hill, and is about sixty feet higher than Concord village.† Along the summit the skirmishing was actively renewed, and continued down its easterly slope into Lincoln.

This ended the struggle in Concord, but her sons and the others were not mindful of the boundary line. To them it was more than the Battle of Concord; it was the Battle of April Nineteenth.

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* Rev. Edmund Foster and Ensign De Bernicre.

† U. S. Geological Survey, 1886.

The patriots who died in Concord were Capt. Isaac Davis, and private Abner Hosmer, both of Acton. The wounded were Luther Blanchard and Ezekiel Davis also of Acton; Jonas Brown of Concord and Joshua Brooks of Lincoln. These were all at the North Bridge. Abel Prescott, Jr., of Concord was wounded while in the village. The British killed were two privates at North Bridge, and two at Meriam's Corner bridge. Their wounded were Lieut. Gould of the Fourth Regiment, Lieut. Kelly of the Tenth Regiment, Lieut. Sutherland of the Thirty-eighth, and Lieut. Hull of the Forty-third, and a number of privates; all at the North Bridge. At the little bridge near Meriam's Corner Ensign Lester of the Tenth Regiment and several privates were wounded.

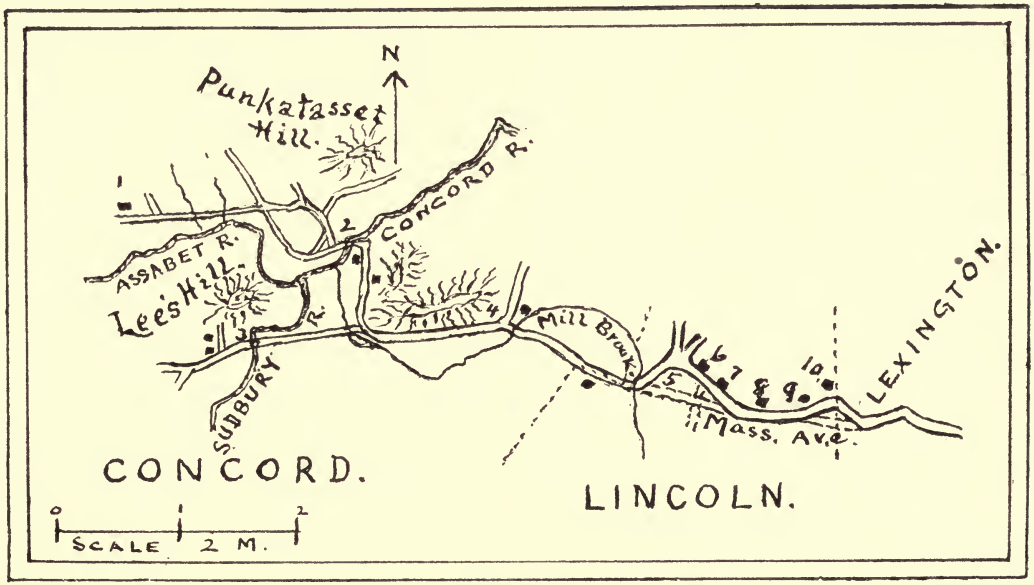
LIEUT.-COL. SMITH'S RETREAT THROUGH LINCOLN.

At the foot of the easterly slope of Hardy's Hill is a little stream crossing the road in a northerly direction. It is in Lincoln, and on most maps is put down as Mill Brook, the same that curves around and crosses the road near Meriam's Corner, rather more than a mile back. At Hardy's Hill it has sometimes been called Tanner's Brook.*

The British had now reached this point, and were marching rapidly, keeping their flankers out parallel to the highway.

Over the bridge and up another slight rise and then the road turns at a sharp angle to the left, northeasterly, to still higher ground about

*Frothingham's Siege of Boston. Rev. Mr. Foster's Account.



1. Col. Barrett. 2 North Bridge. 3. South Bridge. 4. Meriam's Corner. 5. Bloody Angle. 6. Sergt. John Hartwell. 7. Sergt. Samuel Hartwell. 8. Revere Captured. 9. Nelson. 10. Hastings.

eighty feet higher than Concord village. On the northwesterly side of that road was a heavy growth of trees and on the opposite side a younger growth. On each side of the road, in those two forest growths, many American minute-men were posted.* They had anticipated the passing of the British, by hurrying across the Great Fields, so called, from the Bedford Road near Meriam's Corner. Among these were the Bedford company under Capt. Willson. This forest lined road was only about a half of a mile in extent before it turned again to the eastward.

When the foremost British reached this location the Americans poured in a deadly volley, that killed eight and wounded many others.

The contest was by no means one-sided. The attention of the Americans here, as all along the line to Charlestown, was too firmly fixed on the ranks of the enemy marching in the road. The British flankers were unnoticed and unthought of. Silently and rapidly they swung along, on their parallel lines, and very often closed in on those little tell-tale puffs of smoke that arose behind the trees and walls, and among the bowlders. Thus were many Americans surprised and slain—more, probably twice or thrice over, than were killed by the soldiers in the highway.

It was at this bloody angle of Battle Road, that Capt. Jonathan Willson of Bedford met his death. And so did Nathaniel Wyman, a native of Billerica, but a member of Capt. Parker's Company. Daniel Thompson, of Woburn, was

* Foster's Account.

also killed here. Another son of Bedford, Job Lane, was severely wounded and disabled for life.*

The next day five of the British killed were removed to the little cemetery, near Lincoln village several miles away, for burial. Not many years ago the Town of Lincoln caused to be placed over their common grave, a neat and appropriately lettered Memorial Stone.

After the northeasterly angle the road turns again easterly towards Lexington. Half or three quarters of a mile along are the two Hartwell houses, still standing (1912), on the northerly side of the road, and but a few hundred feet apart.

In the westerly, or first one, lived Sergt. John Hartwell, and in the easterly one, Sergt. Samuel Hartwell, both members of Capt. Smith's Lincoln Company. Both were absent on duty then, but the wife of Samuel was at home. She has furnished a vivid narrative of what she saw and experienced, that afternoon and the following morning. Her first alarm of the coming Britons was reports of musketry, seemingly in the vicinity of the Brooks Tavern. Then nearer and nearer, to the bloody angle. Then the hurrying red-coats themselves, anxious and wild in their demeanor, as they hurried along past her house. And how one, in his insane anger, fired into their garret, though he could see no foeman there.†

For another mile along the Lincoln road the

*Stearns, Jonathan F. Bedford Sesqui-Centennial, page 26. Ripley, page 21, seems to think that Lane was wounded a little farther along at the Hartwell barn.

† Beneath Old Roof Trees, by Abram English Brown, page 221

British must have had some relief, for the country is comparatively level, the fields extending away smoothly on either side. It was not a complete lull in the battle, however, for an American bullet terminated the life of one Briton at least. The remains were uncovered a few years ago when the road builders were widening and grading anew the highway. He was re-interred over the bordering wall in the field to the southwest of the highway, a short distance westerly from Folly Pond.*

Then comes an easterly bend in the road, though still continuing nearly level, and for about a quarter of a mile, to the Nelson house.† Here lived Josiah Nelson, the Lincoln patriot, who, as we have written, alarmed his neighbors in Bedford the night before. Around it were many picturesque bowlders, large enough to shelter venturesome minute-men. And they were there. William Thorning, one of Capt. Smith's Lincoln company, had fired on the British from some hiding place in this neighborhood, and they had returned his fire and chased him into the woods. As he was thus escaping the main body, he met the ever vigilant flank-guard, and but narrowly escaped them also. Later as they passed along, he advanced to one of the Nelson bowlders and fired again, at the British, probably with fatal effect. Across the road from the house is a little knoll which is

* Statement of Mr. George Nelson, near-by resident, who saw the remains and pointed out to me in 1890 the locations of the old and new graves.

† Standing until a few years ago, although in a shattered condition. It had been abandoned as a habitation for many years. A conflagration completed its destruction, and now only the scar of its cellar-hole, and a pile of bricks that formed its mammoth chimney and hospitable hearth, mark where it stood.

called "The Soldiers' Graves,"* even to this day, for therein sleep two British soldiers whose summons undoubtedly came from behind the Nelson bowlders.

About a sixth of a mile yet farther along, stood the home of Samuel Hastings, near the Lexington boundary line, yet within the town of Lincoln. Hastings was a member of Capt. Parker's Lexington Company,† and was present and in line for action when Pitcairn gave that first order to fire. As the British column swept along, one of the soldiers left the ranks and entered the house for plunder, unmindful of the dangers lurking in the adjoining woods and fields. As he emerged and stood on the door-stone, an American bullet met him, and he sank seriously wounded. There he lay, until the family returned later in the afternoon, and found him. Tenderly they carried him into the house, and ministered to his wants as best they could, but his wound was fatal. After his death they found some of their silver spoons in his pocket. He was buried a short distance westerly from the house.‡

It was in Lincoln that Captain Parker's Lexington Company, numbering in all one hundred and twenty men, again went into the action, probably not far from the Nelson and Hastings homes; and also the Cambridge Company

* Statement to me in 1890, of Mr. Nelson, owner of the old ruins with the surrounding fields, and who pointed out "The Soldiers' Graves."

† See his deposition in Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass., but I do not find his name in any other place as a member.

‡ I am indebted to the great-grandchildren of Samuel Hastings, Cornelius and Charles A. Wellington, for this statement. They were residents of Lexington, but since both have died.

under Capt. Samuel Thatcher, seventy-seven men, joined the pursuit from there.*

The American fatalities in Lincoln, as we have seen, were Capt. Jonathan Willson, of Bedford; Nathaniel Wyman of Billerica, who was a member of Capt. Parker's Lexington Company; and Daniel Thompson of Woburn. Job Lane of Bedford was slightly wounded.

The exact British loss in Lincoln cannot be stated. It is known that eight were killed at the Bloody Angle, and at least four more along the road from there to the Hastings house. Many were wounded but no statement or estimate has ever been given. The distance across that part of the town is about two miles, and the fighting severe for more than half the way.

LIEUT.-COL. SMITH'S RETREAT TO LEXINGTON VILLAGE.

As the British forces again invaded Lexington soil undoubtedly they looked for vengeance from the hands of the little band that stood before them in the early morning. If they did anticipate as much they were not disappointed, for as we have stated Captain Parker and his men had come out into the edge of Lincoln to meet them.

Just over the line into Lexington, and a few rods north of the road, the land rises about fifty feet rather abruptly and with a ledgy face. This little summit commands a grand view up and down the road, for quite a distance, and therefore was an ideal location for the minute-

* See Massachusetts State Archives where twenty-eight miles is the distance charged for by most of his men.

men. Many were there awaiting the passing of the British, and when they were opposite, poured down on them a volley. At least one fell, an officer, for a few years ago a sword was taken up from the depth of about four feet, evidently from his grave. It was almost consumed with rust, but enough remaining to identify it as of British make and of that period. The reports of muskets, and little puffs of blue smoke betrayed the location of the marksmen, and the British at once returned the fire. Their aim was without effect. One of their bullets flattened against the ledge, and was also found by the present owner of the land, buried in the decayed leaves and refuse at the base of the ledge.*

Not more than a quarter of a mile farther along the road, stood Bull's Tavern,† in later times known as Viles Tavern. Nothing now remains of it but the cellar-hole and that is not so deep as once. The soldiers ransacked the house for food and drink, but left no recompense. A few rods more the road turns northeasterly around a bluff twenty feet high, perhaps. The struggle was renewed there furiously, for the British flankers could not manœuvre to protect the main column so well, and they suffered severely for half a mile or more towards Fiske Hill. Lieut.-Col. Smith was wounded

* The sword and bullet were found by Mr. John Lannon about 1895, and from whom I obtained them. He was then as now owner of the farm. In removing a bowlder from his garden it was necessary to dig around it and on one side to a depth of about four feet. There he found the sword and a little of its rust-eaten scabbard, and quite likely in the grave by the side of its wearer. The bullet once round, now not half that, had struck the ledge rather than the American on its summit, and fell harmlessly at the base.

†Rev. Mr. Foster called it Benjamin's Tavern.

by a bullet passing through his leg.* Major Pitcairn's horse becoming unmanageable through fright, threw him to the ground, and escaped into the American lines, where he was captured, together with equipments, including the Major's beautiful brace of pistols.†

Many British were wounded, and many killed, along this part of Battle Road. A little way from the bluff, over the wall on the opposite side of the road and in a southerly direction, are graves of two. No memorial stone marks the exact spot, and even the mounds, too, have long since dissolved away.‡

The contending forces were now climbing Fiske Hill, about sixty feet higher than the bluff.** The road at that time passed higher up than at present, and near the summit fighting was more severe again. One Briton, at least, fell there and was buried in the little strip of ground between the old and new road.

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*De Bernicre's Account.

† The accoutrements were taken to Concord and later sold by auction. Capt. Nathan Barrett bought the pistols, beautiful ones, with elaborately chased silver mountings, with Pitcairn's name engraved thereon. Capt. Barrett offered them to Gen. Washington, who declined them, and then to Gen. Putnam, who carried them through the war. They were brought to Lexington on Centennial Day, April 19, 1875, for exhibition by Rev. S. I. Prime, D.D., on behalf of the owner, a widow of John P. Putnam, of Cambridge, N. Y., who was the grandson of Gen. Putnam and to whom they descended. Later Mrs. Putnam gave them to the town of Lexington and they are now on exhibition by the Lexington Historical Society (See Handbook of Lexington, 1891.) Rev. William Emerson of Concord, requested of the Third Provincial Congress, June 1, 1775, the use of a horse, probably Pitcairn's, which they granted specifying one captured from a regular by Isaac Kittredge, of Tewksbury, Capt. Nathan Barrett, and Henry Flint, of Concord, Mr. Emerson to pay a reasonable price for its keeping up to that time.

‡ Statement to me by the late Rev. Carlton A. Staples.

** U. S. Geological Survey, 1886.

A heap of small stones once marked the spot, but they have disappeared.*

Down the easterly slope of Fiske Hill stands a modest little farmhouse, on the southerly side of the road. It was then the home of Benjamin Fiske. The entire family had fled, and the stragglers from the British columns entered for pillage. One in his greed stayed too long. Brave James Hayward of Acton, willing to fight though exempt from military service because of a partially dismembered foot, met him at the door, laden with booty. The Briton recognized in Hayward an enemy, and raising his gun, exclaimed,

"You are a dead man!"

"And so are you," responded Hayward as he raised his gun also. Both fired — both fell, the British instantly killed and Hayward mortally wounded, the ball piercing his bullet-pouch and entering his side. He lived eight hours and was conscious to the last. Calling for his powder horn and bullet-pouch, he remarked that he started with one pound of powder and forty bullets. A very little powder and two or three balls were all that were left.

"You see what I have been about," he exclaimed, calling attention to the slight remainder. "I am not sorry; I die willingly for my country."† And so Concord and Lexington, too, reverently treasure the memory of brave Acton men, whose life blood stained the soil of each.

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* Statement of H. M. Houghton to the Rev. Carlton A. Staples, who so informed me. Mr. Houghton lived in that vicinity during his boyhood and furnished a roughly sketched plan to Mr. Staples.

† James Fletcher's History of Acton, in Hurd's History of Middlesex County.

Up the westerly slope of Concord Hill, an elevation named after her sister town, marched the British. Their ranks were broken and disordered. Many had been wounded, many had been killed, and many had fallen exhausted by the wayside. It was then about half past one o'clock, and they had marched rather more than twenty-three miles. At that time their ammunition began to give out, which added to their discomfiture. Their enemies seemed to be countless and everywhere. De Bernicre, the spy, who was with them, has left a vivid word picture of how anxious they were getting. "There could not be less than 5,000," he says in his account, "so they kept the road always lined, and a very hot fire on us without intermission. . . . We began to run rather than retreat in order." Lieut.-Col. Smith, says, in his report, that the firing on his troops, which began in Concord, "increased to a very great degree and continued without the intermission of five minutes, altogether for I believe upwards of eighteen miles."

Such was the impression on the minds of Smith, and his weary soldiers as they hurried along down Fiske Hill and up Concord Hill. If he entertained any idea of surrendering, though I have no evidence that he did, he must have realized the hopelessness of that, for no one seemed to be commanding the multitude before him, beside him, and behind him. They constituted a large circle of individuals, but made no attempt to stay his march or guide it in any way. They just followed along, seemingly intent only on hunting down the King's soldiers. Had some master mind been in charge

of the patriot army, Smith's entire force could easily have been taken prisoners. But this was the first day of the war, and was only a contest between soldiers and citizens. And so Smith was allowed to march along.

Near the foot of the westerly slope of Concord Hill stood the home of Thaddeus Reed.* He was one of Captain Parker's Company. After the British passed along the Americans picked up three severely wounded soldiers and carried them into the house, where they all died. They were buried not far away, a few feet westerly of Wood St., on the northerly side of a stone wall still standing, and but a few rods from Battle Road. Their graves are unmarked and almost unknown.†

The British flankers were now so thoroughly tired out that they could hardly act in that capacity, and were of but little use as protectors of the main body. The severely wounded were abandoned to some extent. Many of the slightly wounded were carried along somehow, but they greatly impeded the march. Hopes of reinforcements were practically abandoned.‡

And so they proceeded up the hill, the summit of which is fully forty feet higher than Fiske Hill and at least eighty feet higher than Lexington Common,** now in view less than a mile away. They must have been anxious to reach and pass that little field. Down the easterly slope of Concord Hill they almost ran,

* See Foster's Narrative.

† The exact spot was pointed out to me by the late Rev. Carlton A. Staples, Sept. 11, 1900, who received his information accompanied by a plan from H. M. Houghton.

‡ Diary of a British Officer in Boston in 1775, who was a member of the expedition.

** U. S. Geological Surveys, 1898, 1900.

in more or less confusion and intense excitement. The Americans were actively keeping up their firing, and so more Britons were killed and wounded, three of the latter so severely that they were abandoned by their fellow soldiers, fell into the hands of the Americans and were taken into Buckman Tavern.* One subsequently died and was buried with the British slain in the old cemetery near by. Their graves are unmarked.†

The British did not stop to disperse any rebels on Lexington Common, for none were there to oppose their retreat, but passed off the south-easterly point, as the Americans came promptly after them on the northwesterly side. It was between two and three o'clcok when they reached the site of the present Lexington High School, a trifle more than half a mile from the Common. There they met the long-wished for reinforcements, under Lord Percy, who opened his ranks, and enclosed them in his protecting care. Many sank immediately into the road where they halted, for their physical condition was pitiful in the extreme. One of the contemporary English historians, an officer in the British Army in America, has described them as lying prone on the ground, like dogs with protruding tongues.‡

Percy then quickly wheeled about his two field pieces,** and opened fire up the road, towards the Common, where he could see the

* Foster's Account. E. P. Bliss gives the number as two, in Lexington Hist. Soc., I, 75.

† E. P. Bliss, in Lexington Historical Society, I, 75.

‡ C. Stedman. History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War. London, 1794.

** Percy's Report to Gen. Gage.

Americans were gathered. It was not fatal in its effect, but served to scatter them and do considerable damage to the meeting-house, one ball passing through it. Col. Loammi Baldwin, of Woburn, was one who had been standing in sight of the British, but he sought shelter behind the sacred edifice when he realized the enemy had opened fire with artillery. When a ball passed through the meeting-house and came out near his head he retreated northwesterly to the meadow.*

Not many of the Americans had been killed thus far, in the retreat of the British through Lexington. We have spoken of James Hayward of Acton, killed on the easterly side of Fiske Hill, and must add the name of Deacon Josiah Haynes of Capt. Nixon's Sudbury Company, who met his death somewhere along the road from Fiske Hill to Lexington Common.† He was a venerable man, in his seventy-ninth year,‡ and had marched from his home down to Concord village, up through Lincoln, and into Lexington. He was thoroughly in earnest in his work of driving the British back to Boston, and in an unguarded moment exposed himself to one of the King's riflemen.

On the Lexington part of Battle Road, many British were killed and many wounded. Among the latter were Lieut. Hawkshaw, Lieut. Cox, and Lieut. Baker, all of the Fifth Regiment; Ensign Baldwin and Lieut. McCloud, of the Forty-seventh Regiment; and Captain Souter

* The damage to the meeting-house by the cannon ball cost the Town of Lexington to repair £1 1s. Rev. C. A. Staples in Lexington Historical Society, I, 21.

† Ripley.

‡ Hudson's History of Sudbury.

and Lieut. Potter of the Marines.* I have previously mentioned the wounding of the commander, Lieut.-Col. Smith, on the westerly slope of Fiske Hill.

After the British had departed from Lexington immediate attention was given to the Lexington patriot dead who were slain on the Common in the early morning. From the field of battle they had been borne to the meeting-house, and there a simple service held over them, consisting of a prayer by Rev. Jonas Clarke. Then they were carried to the little church-yard, where one broad grave received them all. It had been a day of terror in Lexington, and some fear was felt that the enemy might return and wreak yet further vengeance, even upon the dead. So the grave was made in a remote part of the yard, near the woods, and the fresh mound of earth itself hidden beneath branches cut from the neighboring trees.† And not for-

* De Bernicre.

† "Father sent Jonas down to Grandfather Cook's to see who was killed and what their condition was and, in the afternoon, Father, Mother with me and the Baby went to the Meeting House, there was the eight men that was killed, seven of them my Father's parishoners, one from Woburn, all in Boxes made of four large Boards Nailed up and, after Pa had prayed, they were put into two horse carts and took into the grave yard where your Grandfather and some of the Neighbors had made a large trench, as near the Woods as possible and there we followed the bodies of those *first slain, Father, Mother,* I and the Baby, there I stood and there I saw them let down into the ground, it was a little rainey but we waited to see them covered up with the Clods and then for fear the British should find them, my Father thought some of the men had best Cut some pine or oak bows and spread them on their place of burial so that it looked like a heap of Brush."

I am indebted to the Lexington Historical Society, Proceedings, Vol. IV, page 92, for the above extract from a letter written by Miss Elizabeth Clarke, daughter of Rev. Jonas Clarke. It is dated from Lexington, April 19, 1841, and written to her niece, Mrs. Lucy Ware Allen, whose mother was Mary, another daughter of Rev. Mr. Clarke. The writer, Miss Elizabeth, was then in her seventy-eighth year. I am inclined to think that Asahel Porter, the Woburn man, was buried in his own town. Though killed near the Common he was not one of Capt. Parker's Company.

gotten three score years later, their grateful fellow townsmen removed their remains to the field where they died, and erected a monument to their memory.

EARL PERCY MARCHES TO REINFORCE LIEUT.-COL. SMITH.

As the command of Lieut.-Col. Smith will now rest for a brief period, let us go back to Boston and start with Earl Percy, on his mission to reinforce the former, and consider his delays and difficulties, and why he got no farther than Lexington.

As we have seen, it was between two and three o'clock in the morning when Smith reached Arlington, and became alarmed at the increasing attention his soldiers were attracting; — attention that seemed to him hostile, he despatched back to Gen. Gage an urgent request for reinforcements. His messenger should have reached Gage within two hours easily, for to retrace the march was less than six miles by land with an additional half a mile or little more by boat across the Charles River. So Gen. Gage should have had Smith's message by five o'clock, at least. He acted promptly, by ordering the First Brigade, consisting of eight companies of the Fourth, Twenty-third, and Forty-seventh Regiments, under arms, and to these were added two detachments of the Royal Marines to be under Major John Pitcairn. Two pieces of artillery, six pounders, were also added to the force, and the whole placed under the command of Lord Percy, with the title, for the occasion, of Acting Brigadier General. His little army numbered about one thousand men.

HUGH, *EARL* PERCY.

Published, Sept.r 30th 1785, by John Fielding, Pater Noster Row.

It was about seven o'clock when the eight companies assembled on Tremont Street, and the line extended from Scollay Square to the lower part of the Common. There they waited for Pitcairn and his Marines, nearly two hours. Finally it dawned upon the mind of General Gage that his orders to that worthy officer might still be lying on his desk unopened, for he had been granted permission to accompany Lieut.-Col. Smith as a volunteer, and perhaps had gone. Such proved to be the case and the two hours were lost. Then another commander for them was selected, and they were in line at nine o'clock.* These two hours would have meant Percy's force almost into Concord instead of into Lexington village, and would have made great difference in the results of the day's fighting.

Percy, mounted on a beautiful white horse, headed the column, and they proceeded over Boston Neck, through the present Washington Street, to Roxbury, up the hill to the meeting-house, then to the right, where the old Parting Stone then stood, even as it does to-day. In Roxbury his soldiers excited the attention of a very young patriot, who laughed derisively as the musicians played "Yankee Doodle." Lord Percy noticed him and asked the reason of his mirth. The boy responded:

"To think how you will dance by-and-by to Chevy Chase."

The British commander felt uncomfortable the rest of the day because of the suggestive

* Frothingham's History of the Siege of Boston.

and prophetic reply.* He continued into Brighton and to the westerly bank of the Charles River, opposite to Harvard Square in Cambridge. At that place the river is narrow and thus easily bridged even in those early days, and over that was then the only way into Boston by road from the upper towns in Middlesex County.

The Americans, anticipating Percy's movements, had taken up the planks of the bridge, but did not continue the good work thoroughly, for they piled them handily on the Cambridge side. It was a simple matter for Percy's engineers to cross over on the stringers and re-lay enough of them for his soldiers to pass into Cambridge. But had the planks been farther removed Percy was prepared to replace them, for he had brought with him sufficient for the purpose and carpenters to do the work. He anticipated the partial destruction of the bridge at least, and prepared his remedy accordingly, and must have been surprised at the point where the Americans concluded their labors. He carried his planks along about a mile and a half, and then sent them back as they were only an encumbrance. He had no use for them on his return for he had another plan, as we shall see later on.†

It was at the bridge that Percy marched ahead and left his wagon train of supplies to follow on, as soon as they could safely cross.

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* William Gordon's History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America. N. Y., 1794. Vol. I, page 312.

† Rev. Isaac Mansfield, Jr., Chaplain of Gen. Thomas's Regiment, in a Thanksgiving Sermon in Camp at Roxbury, Nov. 23, 1775. See Thornton's Pulpit of the American Revolution, page 236.

The delay to them was considerable and so the main army soon passed out of sight.

The round about route the British had taken to reach Harvard Square was necessary, at that time, because as we have stated, no bridge crossed the river lower down. Could he have crossed as we do to-day, the distance would have been but a little over three miles, whereas it was eight miles as he marched, or nearly two hours more time. He could not cross in boats as did Lieut.-Col. Smith, for two reasons: first, his soldiers were too many, and secondly, the boats were even then moored on the Cambridge side awaiting Smith's return.

When Percy reached Cambridge, he was somewhat puzzled to know just which way to start for Lexington. In his official report he declares the houses were all shut up and there was not a single inhabitant to give him any information about the force under Smith. He did find one man, Isaac Smith, a tutor in Harvard College, who directed him along the right highway. When his fellow citizens of Cambridge learned of this free intelligence, a little later on, they were indignant — and Isaac Smith, feeling reproved, shortly afterwards left the country for a while. It does not appear that he intended to aid and abet the enemy, but granted the little courtesy without thinking of its value. It was regretted that Percy was not sent down into the marshes bordering Willis Creek, and so delayed an hour or more.*

The British marched rapidly on leaving Harvard Square and were soon quite a distance

* Edward Everett Hale in Memorial History of Boston. Vol. 3.

ahead of the baggage train, deeming it safe to leave it to follow under the guidance of a sergeant's guard of twelve men. It was no small task to get it safely over the dismantled bridge, and the delay there was considerable. Vigilant Americans watched the proceedings and realized the opportunity to seize it. They hurried on to Arlington to formulate their plans for its capture. As Cambridge seemed to be generally deserted, the sergeant and his men evidently felt no uneasiness at their delay. In due time, however, they were on the march again, headed for Lexington.*

Not long after they passed the Charlestown road, the Beech Street of today, Dr. Joseph Warren and his friend Dr. Thomas Welsh came into Cambridge. Warren lived in Boston, and left his home that morning and crossed the ferry into Charlestown. There he met Welsh and many other citizens and communicated to them the news he had received by special messenger from Lexington. It was then about ten o'clock.† A little after, he and Dr. Welsh on horseback, were on their way to Cambridge, where they arrived, only to find the road ahead occupied by the baggage-train. They endeavored to pass but were not permitted to do so. The sergeant inquired of Dr. Warren if he knew where the British troops then were; but the doctor could only give a negative reply. There seemed to be quite a little uneasiness in the minds of the British, as they evidently feared they were too widely separated from the

* West Cambridge on the Nineteenth of April, 1775, An Address by Samuel Abbot Smith, Boston, 1864, page 27.

† Frothingham's Siege of Boston.

main body and might be captured.* A guard of twelve men is not a large force to conduct a baggage-train through a hostile country. Percy's first and most serious mistake had been committed. It was then noon-time, or a little after.

In the meantime about a dozen of the elderly men of Menotomy, exempts mostly, assembled near the centre of the village and waited the arrival of the baggage train. Among them were Jason Belknap, Joe Belknap, James Budge, Israel Mead, Ammi Cutter and David Lamson, a half Indian. Some of them had served in the French War. Rev. Phillips Payson, A. M., of Chelsea, was also present and took an active part.† They chose Lamson to be leader, and took a position behind a stone wall on the northerly side of the road, nearly opposite the First Parish Meeting-House. As the baggage-train appeared nearly opposite, Lamson ordered his men to rest and aim at the horses, at the same time calling out to the sergeant to surrender. He made no reply, and his driver whipped up the horses to escape. It was too late, for American bullets easily stopped them, killed two British soldiers and wounded several others.‡ The soldiers then abandoned their charge and ran southerly along the westerly shore of Spy Pond, as far as Spring Valley, where they came upon an elderly lady of Menotomy, known as Mother Bathericke, engaged in digging dandelions. They begged her assistance and protection, consequently she

* Edward Everett Hale in Memorial History of Boston, Vol. 3.
† Brown's Beneath Old Roof Trees.
‡ Smith's Address.

conducted them to the house of Capt. Ephraim Frost, where they were detained as prisoners,* and probably to their mental relief. They were thoughtful enough not to include their guns in the surrender, for some were thrown into Spy Pond, and one was ruined by striking it heavily over a stone wall and bending it hopelessly out of shape.

The captured wagons were drawn down into the hollow, still to be seen a little northeasterly of the present Arlington railroad station, where the contents were distributed freely to all comers. The living horses were driven off to Medford, and the bodies of the dead ones, in accordance with the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Cook, who feared exciting the anger of the returning British, were dragged away to the field near Spring Valley, westerly of Spy Pond. And there, for many years, their bones bleached in the sun.†

All other marks of the contest were obliterated from the highway, that Percy might not trace what had happened to his baggage-wagons and wreak vengeance upon the townspeople.

Gen. Percy ‡ marched less than two miles beyond Arlington centre, when he distinctly heard the firing in Lexington. He was not far from the boundary line between Arlington and Lexington and the time was, as he has written, between one and two o'clock.** At about that

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* Smith's Address. Some of the opposition newspapers in England were quite merry and some quite sarcastic over the surrender of six lusty soldiers to one old woman, and inquired, on that basis, how many British troops would it take to conquer America?

† Smith's Address.

‡ He signed his official report to Gen. Gage, "Percy, Acting Brig. Gen." So that was his title for April Nineteenth.

** See the rough or preliminary draft of his report to Gage.

time he met Lieut. Gould of the Fourth, or King's Own Regiment, who, as we have written, was wounded at the North Bridge and was then returning in a borrowed Concord chaise, drawn by a borrowed Concord horse. From him Percy learned the details of Lieut.-Col. Smith's march, and of his present urgent need of assistance. He hurried along towards Lexington, and Lieut. Gould continued his retreat towards Boston, but was captured as he reached Arlington village. The exact spot was on the present Massachusetts Avenue, near Mill Street, and his captors were some of the old men who had destroyed the baggage-wagons. Gould was first taken to Ammi Cutter's, and then to Medford,* and his own deposition shows that he was kindly treated.

At last, after a march of nearly sixteen miles,† Percy met the returning force under Lieut.-Col. Smith, who had passed Lexington Common, the scene of his engagement in the morning, and was down the road towards Boston, half a mile. The place of meeting was opposite the present Lexington High School, and the time between two and three o'clock. Percy being the ranking officer, immediately took command of the united forces. It did not take him long to realize the terrible condition that Smith's troops were in, and to minister to their wants. As they halted in the road, his own ranks opened to receive them, and there they sank to the ground utterly exhausted. Such as could eat or drink were supplied from

* Smith's Address, pages 31, 32.

† To be exact, for I have measured the route over which he marched, it was 15$\frac{7}{8}$ miles.

his own stores, while the wounded were taken still farther down the road, less than a quarter of a mile, to the Munroe Tavern, which he proceeded to establish as his headquarters and for use as a hospital. Near the place of meeting, coming in from the eastward, was then and is now, the Woburn road, the bordering walls of which sheltered plenty of American minute-men. Back a little to the southward rose the modest elevation now sometimes called Mt. Vernon. Americans were there also, for it was high enough for them to look down on the highway very nicely if permitted to do so. Percy's flankers, however, were directed to clear all surrounding locations of enemies to the King, and Mt. Vernon and the Woburn road were soon under the British flag again, or nearly so. But occasionally from some obscure or neglected corner, rose a puff of blue smoke and then the wearer of that brilliant red uniform would tumble over in the road, wounded or dying, or dead. Little bodies of minute-men, unorganized always, were seen dodging back and forth around the meeting-house on the Common. Other little groups, and many singly, were noticed climbing over walls, emerging from, and disappearing again, behind clumps of bushes, and trees, and houses; hardly ever in sight long enough to shoot at. Percy, thinking to awe them, wheeled his two six-pounders into position and opened his first cannonade on the meeting-house on Lexington Common. It was likewise the first cannon fired in the American Revolution. No American was killed, or even wounded, but the house of God in Lexington suffered, and it cost the

Plate IV. A View of the South Part of Lexington

1 Colonel Smith's Brigade retreating from the Provincials
2 Earl Percy's Brigade resting there.
3, 4 & 5 Earl Percy & Col. Smith's Provincials.
6, 8 & 7 The Encampments of Percys Brigade.
8 A Field piece pointed at the Lexington Meeting house.
9 The Burning of the Houses in Lexington.

A. Doolittle Sculp.

town some money to repair it. The cannon ball crashing through the meeting-house did have the effect to drive the Americans farther back, and probably out of rifle range for a while.

Percy having thus scattered his near-by enemies then moved one of his six-pounders a few rods down the road near the present Bloomfield Street, then up the little elevation to the southward, now called Mt. Vernon. The precise spot was probably about opposite the northerly end of the present Warren Street. He strongly supported it with a part of his brigade.* This location was an excellent one for artillery, as it commanded the highway for fully a mile to Lexington Common and beyond. As before, his gunner could find no American long enough in one place to aim at. So there were no fatalities.

While Smith's soldiers were resting, some of those under Percy as reinforcements wandered about that part of the village bent on mischief and pillage, not the kind usually indulged in by the average rowdy element of an army, but on a much larger and grander scale. Houses and outlying buildings were looted and burned. The first ones were owned by Deacon Joseph Loring, non-combatant, seventy-three years of age, situated close by the meeting place of the two detachments, on the westerly side of the road. This group of buildings consisted of a mansion house, a barn seventy-five feet long, and a corn house. All were completely de-

* In his report he states that he "drew up the Brigade on a height." Only Mount Vernon was easily accessible for such a movement. See also Doolittle's "A View of the South Part of Lexington," for confirmation.

stroyed, together with such of their contents as could not be carried away. About two hundred rods of Loring's stone walls were also pushed over, emphasizing strongly the feeling of hostility existing among the British soldiers for their American cousins. His loss was £720.* This wanton and needless destruction of property must have been by the express command of Percy, for he was but a few rods away.

On the easterly side of the road, nearly opposite the Loring house, standing on the site of the present Russell House, was the home of Matthew Mead. That, too, was within a few rods of where Percy sat on his white horse, but it was ransacked by his soldiers, and Mead's loss was £101.†

Another plundered Lexington home in that neighborhood belonged to Benjamin Merriam, one of Parker's Company, and of course absent. His house was not burned, but damaged to the extent of £6. His loss of personal property amounted to £217, 4 s.‡ The building is still in existence, but has been moved easterly into Woburn Street across the railroad tracks. Its original location was on the westerly side of Massachusetts Avenue, a few rods north of Winthrop Road, and easily within sight of the British commander, Lord Percy.

And let us not forget that from that time on, Percy was in supreme command of the united British forces, amounting to nearly eighteen hundred men. To him belongs the credit of a masterly retreat, for his loss in killed and

* Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass. in 1775, page 686.
† Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass. in 1775, page 688.
‡ Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass in 1775, page 688.

wounded was surprisingly small considering the number of American riflemen in pursuit. To him belongs the blame also for the burned homes of inoffensive non-combatants, for the killing of such helpless old men as Raymond; for the summary removal of Hannah Adams and her infant from child-bed; for the killing of feeble-minded William Marcy; for the killing of fourteen-year old Edward Barber. His entire march back to Charlestown was thickly dotted with just such incidents, unrelieved by any conspicuous merciful action, or by any deed of bravery. It was a masterly retreat, indeed,— and it was a brutal one, too. Happily for the American patriots in succeeding contests, no other British commander seemed inspired by such revengeful instincts. Happily for the British historian he has no other such brutal events to apologize or blush for. Percy occupies his one page in history, uniquely, at least. His services in America, terminated soon thereafter, and at his own request, and for some reason which we know not of. Possibly he was satisfied with the fame, such as it was, which he won on that glorious day.*

The next Lexington home to be destroyed by the incendiary belonged to the widow Lydia

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* A majority of the voters of Lexington in town meeting assembled have re-named a near-by street, "Percy Road," in commemoration of his visit on that Nineteenth of April. Almost any other foeman's name would have been better, if it is thus necessary to mark a growing feeling of respect and kindliness between two nations of kindred blood. Its older name was Mt. Vernon Street!

The town has many street names in memory of that battle day, such as Adams, Clarke, Hancock, Muzzey, Revere. Percy Road starts from near the old Munroe Tavern. What better name could there be for this thoroughfare than Munroe Avenue, in memory of Sergeant William Munroe, or of his grandson James S. Munroe, who has generously left the Tavern to be forever open to the public for inspection.

Mulliken and her son. It stood not far from Loring's, on the main road to Boston, nearly opposite the present Munroe School. The clock shop connected with the same estate was also burned. As in the previous cases such personal effects as were desired by the soldiers were first removed and subsequently carried away. The works of a valuable musical clock were found in the knapsack of a wounded Briton, when he was subsequently captured.* The Mulliken loss was £431.†

John Mulliken, cabinet-maker, son of the widow, and living in Concord, joined in the pursuit, and came as far as Lexington. There he saw his mother's house in flames, which affected him so deeply that he could proceed no farther.‡

A modest little home and shop belonging to Joshua Bond, standing northwesterly from Munroe Tavern, and very near the present beginning of "Percy Road," were first looted, and then burned. His loss was £189, 16 s. 7 d.

The greater part of these happenings were within that first half hour after Percy took command of the united British forces, and before he began his retreat. This energetic destroyer of American homes had selected Munroe Tavern as his temporary headquarters, and ordered his wounded conveyed there also. While their wounds were being dressed his men demanded such refreshments as the place could provide, and unlike Smith's subordinates in

* Lexington Historical Society Proceedings, III, 135.

† See Doolittle's "A View of the South Part of Lexington," for an idea of those burning Lexington homes.

‡ Lexington Historical Society Proceedings, III, 135.

Concord, were not considerate enough to pay for them. So landlord William Munroe's loss was £203, 11 s. 9 d., of which £90 was in the "retail shop," presumably of a liquid nature. As he was orderly sergeant in Captain Parker's Company, he was naturally absent on duty, and left a lame man, John Raymond, in charge, who waited upon the unbidden guests because he was compelled to. His last service was to mix a glass of punch for one of the red-coats, after which he essayed to escape through the garden. He was not alert enough, for two soldiers fired, and one of their bullets readily overtook him as he hobbled away.* Thus one more was added to the list of American dead, one of the easiest victims, of course, for he was simply an unarmed cripple. This probably happened at the rear of the Tavern.

A few rods from the Tavern, down the road towards Boston, were two more Lexington homes, on opposite sides of the street, and so quite near to each other. They are still standing (1912). In the one on the westerly side lived Samuel Sanderson, a member of Capt. Parker's Company. He was not at home, so they killed his cow instead, not for food, but for the pure pleasure of killing something. Evidently landlord Munroe's liquor was having some effect, if not in making men braver, then in making them more brutal. Sanderson did not report the amount of his loss to the Legislature. On the easterly side of the road lived John Mason and family. All were absent so

* A carefully written newspaper clipping evidently from a Boston periodical, dated April 19, 1858, preserved in a scrap book once belonging to the Thomas Waterman collection of American History.

the soldiers permitted themselves to carry away property to the value of £14, 13 s, 4 d.*

Many other homes in Lexington were ransacked, mostly during Percy's halt. The total loss, as reported to the Legislature in 1783, amounted to £1761, 1, 15; nearly $9,000 as computed in money of to-day. Undoubtedly many minor losses were not reported at all.

While these events were happening, the American riflemen were not idle. From Mt. Vernon to the westward, and from the Munroe meadows to the eastward, came many leaden messengers, some of them effective. Among the British officers wounded, and probably most of them during the halt, were Lieut. Hawkshaw, Lieut. Cox, and Lieut. Baker, of the Fifth, Ensign Baldwin and Lieut. McCloud of the Forty-seventh; and Capt. Souter and Lieut. Potter of the Marines. Many privates were killed and wounded.†

Shortly after the meeting of Percy and Smith, Gen. William Heath of Roxbury arrived in Lexington, and endeavored to effect the organization of the American forces into the semblance of an army. Dr. Joseph Warren arrived on the scene at the same time. Heath's efforts were hardly successful, as the patriots chose to fight as they had from the beginning, singly and self-commanded. It appears that Heath had first gone to Cambridge, to meet the Committee of Safety, and from there intended to go to Lexington, but fearing the British were in possession of the road in that direction had taken one across to Watertown.

* Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Mass. in 1775.

* De Bernicre's Report.

Finding there some of the militia of the town awaiting orders, he directed them to Cambridge to take up the planks of the Boston bridge, barricade its southerly end and dispute the passage of the retreating British on their way home to Boston. Then he proceeded to Lexington and upon his arrival there was generally recognized as the commanding officer of the American forces. He found the people there aroused to great excitement caused by the bombardment of the meeting-house and the burning of so many homes.*

It must have been half past three, or perhaps nearly four o'clock, when Percy gave the order to march. He realized the distance to Boston, and the dangers along the way. "As it now began to grow pretty late," he says in his official report, "and we had 15 miles † to retire, and only our 36 rounds, I ordered the Grenadiers and Light Infantry to move off first,‡ and covered them with my Brigade, sending out very strong flanking parties."

The imposing display and the vigilant flankers had the desired effect of keeping the Americans at a comparatively safe distance, and so Percy and his little army marched down through East Lexington in safety.

The looting section picked up considerable plunder from the abandoned homes along the way, evidently without protest from the commander. The march was a slow one, for Smith's weary and wounded soldiers had to be

* Heath's Memoirs, page 201.

† Then he had in mind to return by way of Roxbury, a longer march than to Charlestown.

‡ De Bernicre says the Light Infantry was in front, then the Grenadiers.

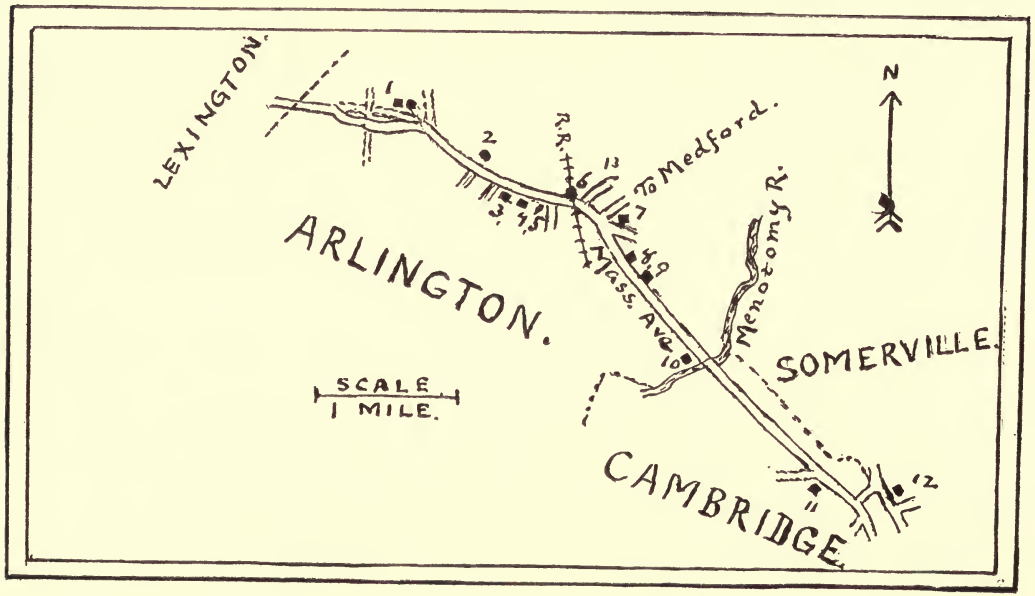
considered. Many of them were on the verge of collapse and quite a few dropped out of the ranks for good. De Bernicre in his account places the "missing" at twenty-six. One of these, a German, was discovered by the road-side in East Lexington soon after Percy had passed out of sight. He was well treated by the Americans, and made his home among them for many years.*

The Americans killed in Lexington during the afternoon were Jedediah Munroe, and John Raymond. The British loss was much greater, for the Americans were being reinforced constantly by minute-men from the remote towns. Three companies from Newton entered the battle at Lexington, under the command respectively of Capt. Phinehas Cook, thirty-seven men; Capt. Amariah Fuller, one hundred and six men; and Capt. Jeremiah Wiswell, seventy-six men. Together these numbered two hundred and nineteen men, making the total enrolment of the Americans in pursuit of Percy as he passed out of Lexington, nineteen hundred and eighty-one men.

PERCY'S RETREAT THROUGH ARLINGTON.

It was not far from half past four when the British crossed the Lexington line and entered into Arlington. Their retreating march in Lexington measured about two and one quarter miles. Along the road they had striven to kill in honorable battle. They had suc-

* Told to me by the venerable Charles Brown still living (1911) in East Lexington. His grandfather, Capt. Edmund Munroe, was an active participant in the events of April 19th.



1. Capt. Benj. Locke. 2. Tuft's Tavern. 3. Adams. 4. Russell. 5. Percy's Baggage Wagons Captured. 6. Adams. 7. Cooper Tavern. 8. Lieut. Solomon Bowman. 9. Black Horse Tavern. 10. Whittemore. 11 Watson. 12. Tufts. 13. Whittemore Wounded.

ceeded but slightly, and paid an unusual price with a much larger number of their own dead and wounded. Percy's aim seemed to have been to terrorize his opponents at whatever cost. The life of Raymond was not taken in battle, nor can rapine and incendiarism add glory to his military renown. Lexington's highway to Arlington ran between pillaged and burning homes, and his soldiers staggered along under heavy burdens of property stolen from those whose King was his King. Concord and Lincoln have none of Percy's deeds related in their chronicles, but Lexington, and Arlington, and Cambridge, and Somerville, and Charlestown have good reason to remember his terrible conception of warfare.

Gen. William Heath, as the commanding officer of the Americans, endeavored to organize his forces into something like an army. He did not greatly succeed, but re-formed some of the forces that had been scattered by Percy's cannonade, directed towards the meeting-house on Lexington Common.*

Descending the high lands in the upper part of Arlington by the road, now known as Appleton Street, that skirts along the base of Arlington Heights, and drops to the "Foot of the Rocks," the Americans pressed in greater numbers and greater courage on Percy's rear guard. The bravery of individuals at this point became conspicuous and often foolishly hazardous. Percy, in his report, speaks of some concealed in houses by the wayside, who would emerge therefrom and approach within ten yards to fire at him and his officers — though sure of a

* Heath's Memoirs.

fatal fire in return. He seemed surprised at their enthusiasm, as he called it, evidently forgetting how much he had excited their anger. It is almost beyond belief that he could have escaped through such a gauntlet, mounted as he was, on his beautiful white horse, a conspicuous mark from the hillsides along the way. But he did,— for such is occasionally the fortune of war as granted to brave men. His personal courage was beyond question.

The forces of the Americans was greatly augmented during the pursuit through Arlington. Minute-men from the nearby Middlesex towns, and from Essex and Norfolk counties, arrived at the time and disposed themselves along a line parallel to the highway as their individual fancies dictated, and independent of any commander-in-chief. Along the hillside to the south, behind the walls, and even within buildings adjacent to the road, they were posted, singly and in squads, among them many unerring marksmen, who added greatly to the British loss in killed and wounded. Percy would have been dismayed had be known the number of reinforcements he must then contend with, but they were not paraded for his inspection. His own army at the highest had not numbered over eighteen hundred men, but now considerably depleted, by his losses along the way, it is doubtful if it would equal fifteen hundred really effective soldiers.

The Americans entering the contest at Arlington were from Brookline, Capt. Thomas White and ninety-five men, and possibly two other companies under Col. Thos. Aspinwall and Major Isaac Gardner, number of men un-

known;* Watertown, Capt. Samuel Barnard, one hundred and thirty-four men; Medford, Capt. Isaac Hall, fifty-nine men; Malden, Capt. Benjamin Blaney, seventy-six men; Roxbury, Capt. Lemuel Child, thirty-five men, Capt. William Draper, fifty men, Capt. Moses Whiting, fifty-five men; Dedham, Capt. Eben Battle, sixty-six men; Capt. Wm. Bullard, fifty-nine men, Capt. Daniel Draper, twenty-four men, Capt. William Ellis, thirty-one men, Capt. David Fairbanks, fourteen men, Capt. Aaron Fuller, sixty-seven men, Capt. George Gould, seventeen men, Capt. Joseph Guild, fifty-nine men; Needham, Capt. Aaron Smith, seventy men, Capt. Robert Smith, seventy-five men, Capt. Caleb Kingsbury, forty men; Lynn, Capt. Nathaniel Bancroft, thirty-eight men, Capt. William Farrington, fifty-two men, Capt. Rufus Mansfield, forty-six men, Capt. Ezra Newhall, forty-nine men, Capt. David Parker, sixty three men; Beverly, Capt. Caleb Dodge, thirty-two men, Capt. Larkin Thorndike, forty-eight men, Capt. Peter Shaw, forty-two men; Danvers, Capt. Samuel Epes, eighty-two men, Capt. Samuel Flint, forty-five men, Capt. Israel Hutchinson, fifty-three men, Capt. Caleb Lowe, twenty-three men, Capt. Jeremiah Page, thirty-nine men, Capt. Asa Prince, thirty-seven men, Capt. Edm. Putnam, seventeen men, Capt. John Putnam, thirty-five men; Menotomy, Capt. Benjamin Locke, fifty-two men. Undoubtedly some of Locke's men were engaged earlier in the day, particularly those who lived in Arlington, for twenty-six of them assembled on the Common

* Bolton's Brookline. White's was the only company to file claim for pay, however. See Mass. Archives.

at daybreak, and must have gone up to Lexington, at least. Of the other members, eleven were from Charlestown, seven from Boston, three from Stoneham, two from Lexington, one from Newton, and one residence unknown. Together these reinforcements at Arlington numbered seventeen hundred and seventy-nine men.

Under the combined efforts of Gen. Heath and Dr. Warren the minute-men were encouraged to rally and draw nearer the rear guard of Percy's column, to harass and destroy them. The two British field pieces were often turned on the Americans but were too cumbersome for effective use against the elusive minute-men. The cannon balls went tearing up the road, smashing trees and shrubs, toppling over stone walls, pushing jagged holes through buildings, striking terror into the hearts of women and children, and presumably many of the men, who were unused to war.

This renewal of activities commenced in Arlington where the road comes in from Lexington, and skirts along the northerly base of Peirce's Hill, now called Arlington Heights. The descent from there to the plain is by a steep grade and the lower end of that part of the highway was then, and is now, known as Foot of the Rocks. This skirting, curved road around Peirce's Hill still exists. Its westerly end is now called Paul Revere Road, and its easterly end, Appleton St. Since that time a straight road with gentler grade has been made to connect the two ends of that part of Battle Road, and forms a part of the new Massachusetts Avenue from Boston to the Concord line.

It was at the Foot of the Rocks that Dr. Warren, brave even to recklessness, exposed himself to some vigilant British marksman, who could not fail to notice his enthusiasm and influence. The bullet came dangerously near the doctor's head, so near, in fact, as to strike a pin from his ear-lock.* Here, also, Dr. Downer of Roxbury engaged in single combat with a British soldier, whom he slew with a bayonet thrust.†

Towards the summit of Peirce's Hill was the Robbins home. The family had fled. Percy's flank-guard ransacked the house, built a fire on the kitchen floor, which burned off a line full of wet clothes hanging over it, letting them fall into the flames which were thereby extinguished.‡

Down this road a little farther stood the Tufts Tavern, once occupied by Mr. Cutler, the rich farmer and butcher, but at that time by John Tufts, previously of Medford, whose wife was Rebecca, a daughter of Mr. Cutler. It will be recalled that Tufts had been aroused in the early morning by the British, and when they returned the family had fled. Soldiers broke into the upper end of it, loaded themselves with such plunder as they could carry away, and maliciously destroyed some that they were obliged to leave behind. One thrust his bayonet through the best mirror, the frame of which was long preserved.** While others, thinking

* Heath's Memoirs.

† Heath's Memoirs.

‡ Mrs. Lydia Peirce's statement in Smith's Address, page 33.

** Mrs. Almira T. Whittemore in Parker's Arlington, page 194. The tavern is still standing, or part of it, numbered 965 Massachusetts Ave., opposite Mt. Vernon Street.

to serve their King, opened the taps of the casks containing molasses and spirits, allowing them to escape. Then they set fire to the building, and left in haste to rejoin their retreating companions. A faithful colored slave of Mr. Cutler's watching from a distance, entered soon after their departure and extinguished the fire.

Richer plunder awaited the looters at the home of Joseph Adams, a venerable deacon of the Second Precinct Church. He had remained at home with his family until Percy's troops came into sight up the road. Then fearing his outspoken views, strongly antagonistic to the British ministry, might subject him to abuse by Percy and his soldiers, he determined to make his way across the fields to the Rev. Mr. Cook's barn. He was seen, and a volley of bullets followed, but he reached the barn, and hid in the hay. Some of the soldiers followed, even into the barn, and pierced the hay with their bayonets, but he was not exactly there. Some of them burst open the door of his home, and three broke into the chamber, where lay his wife and their infant child, but a few days old. The mother was too ill to arise, even. One of the soldiers opened the bed-curtains and with fixed bayonet, pointing to her breast, seemed about to slay her. She begged him not to kill her, but he only angrily replied:

"Damn you!"

Another soldier, with a more humane heart, interceded, and said,

"We will not kill the woman if she will go out of the house, but we will surely burn it."

Inspired by the threat, Mrs. Adams then arose, drew a blanket about herself and little

infant,* and painfully made her way to the corn-house close by. It was the first journey since her illness, as far as her chamber door even. Other children were left within the house, but she was too weak to be of any assistance to them. They had hidden under a bed, but curiosity getting the better of Joel, aged nine years, the little folks were all discovered, but not harmed. They saw the sheets stripped from the beds and household valuables dumped into them, even including the works of an old clock, an heirloom in the family. Most valuable of all the booty, was the silver tankard belonging to the communion service given to the church in 1769, by Jonathan Butterfield. It was subsequently pawned by the thief, to a Boston silversmith, Austin by name, who read the engraved inscription thereon and notified Deacon Adams. After the evacuation of Boston by the British, the two deacons redeemed the tankard at their own expense, and returned it to the church, where it is still in use.

The soldiers of Lord Percy, then emptied a basket of chips on the floor, set them on fire with a brand from the hearth, and went on their way. The Adams children put out the blaze with a quantity of home-brewed beer, but not until the floor was badly burned, the ceiling smoked and a quantity of pewter plates on the dresser melted.†

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* This little child lived into womanhood and became the wife of James Hill.

† Mrs. Adams's Deposition and Smith's Address, wherein he quotes Mrs. Thos. Hall, grand-daughter of Mrs. Adams, Rev. Mr. Brown's Sermon on James Hill, and S. G. Damon's article in The Christian Register, Oct. 28, 1854. The building, or part of it, is still standing (1912) being the ell of a building on the southerly side of Massachusetts Avenue, third house westerly from Bartlett Avenue.

A little farther along, on the westerly side of the road, lived Jason Russell, aged fifty-eight years.* Somewhat helpless because lame, he had started with his family at noontime for refuge at George Prentiss's on the hill. After going a little way he felt impelled to return and look after the safety of his home. He barricaded his gate with bundles of shingles and from behind them took his position to fire upon the enemy as they should come along and pass by in the road a rod away. Rather a feeble fortress from any military standpoint, and one that proved to be a death trap for its builder. Northerly across the road and across the brook lived Ammi Cutter, a kindly neighbor, who came and pleaded with Russell to abandon his door-yard for a place of greater safety. Russell replied that "An Englishman's house is his castle." Cutter remained by his side until the advancing British were seen up the road, and then started on the run across the road, over the wall and through the fields towards his home. Reaching the old mill-yard, and still running, he stumbled and fell between two logs, and the enemy's bullets scattered bark over him as he lay. They thought him dead because he fell as they fired, and so left him. But he was entirely uninjured.

Back of the Russell house in a southerly direction, the land slopes gently upward for a little way, and then rises to a considerable height. Near the foot of this hill a goodly number of Americans were posted, among them the men from Danvers. Approaching along

* Born Jan. 25, 1717. Paige's History of Cambridge. The old grave-stone in the cemetery at Arlington calls him 59 years old.

the slope of the hill, and parallel to the highway, was a strong British flanking party driving all before it. The Americans at that point were too few to openly resist, so retreated and entered the Russell house. Down the road came the main body under Percy, and perceiving the minute-men, advanced and opened fire. Russell being lame, was the last to reach the doorway, where two bullets felled him. The soldiers rushed in and pierced him, as he lay, with eleven bayonet thrusts. Then they entered the house, and within that little home enacted the bloodiest tragedy of the day. Here, the seven men from Danvers were killed. The other Americans retreated to the cellar, and from the foot of the stairs threatened death to any Briton who should come down. One attempted to, and died on the way. Another died in the struggle overhead. Then the house was plundered in accordance with Percy's method of warfare.

After the British had passed, the Americans gathered at the home of Jason Russell. The dead from the yard, and within the house, were laid, side by side, in the little south room. There were twelve of them, and the blood from their wounds mingled in one common pool upon the floor.*

The highway from Jason Russell's house, to the centre of Arlington village, proved to be the bloodiest half mile of all the Battle Road. Within this little stretch were killed twenty or more Americans, and as many or more Britons. And here, on the northerly side of the road,

* King's Address and Smith's Address. The old home is still standing though removed a few rods back from its original location.

not far from where the British convoy was captured, in the forenoon, stood another Adams home. It was punctured with bullets and it was stained with blood, for the dead and dying and wounded were carried there after the combatants had passed on.*

One of the most unequal duels of any war was fought near here, between the venerable Samuel Whittemore, aged eighty years, and a number of British soldiers, acting as a flanking party, on the easterly side of the road.

Whittemore lived with a son and grandchildren near Menotomy River, and had been aroused early in the morning by the passing of Smith's forces on their way to Concord. Mrs. Whittemore then commenced her preparations for flight, to another son's house, near Mystic River, towards Medford. She supposed that her husband intended to accompany her, but was surprised to find him engaged in the warlike occupation of oiling his musket and pistols, and sharpening his sword. In his younger days he had been an officer in the militia. She urged him to accompany her and the children. He refused, with the excuse that he was going "up town" as he expressed it. He did so, arriving there before the British had returned. When they reached the neighborhood of the present railroad crossing they halted, some of them opposite Mystic Street. Whittemore had posted himself behind a stone wall, down Mystic Street about four hundred and fifty feet, near the corner of the present Chestnut Street.

* It stood easterly of the present (1911) Town Hall. When the railroad went through, part of the house blocked the way and therefore the whole had to be demolished. The grand old elm that shaded the yard was destroyed in a gale and a smaller one now takes its place.

The distance seemed an easy range for him, and he opened fire killing the soldier he aimed at. They must have discovered his hiding-place from the smoke-puff, and hastened to close in on him. With one pistol he killed the second Briton, and with his other fatally wounded a third one. In the meantime the ever vigilant flank-guard were attracted to the contest, and a ball from one of their muskets struck his head and rendered him unconscious. They rushed to the spot, and clubbed him with their muskets and pierced him with their bayonets until they felt sure that he was dead. Soon after they left him, he was found by the Americans, and as he seemed to still live they bore him to the Cooper Tavern. Dr. Tufts of Medford was summoned, but declared it useless to dress so many wounds as the aged man could not possibly survive. However, he was persuaded to try, and Whittemore lived eighteen more years, dying in 1793, at the age of ninety-eight. When he was recovering, his wife could not forbear asking him if he did not regret he had not remained with the rest of the family from the first. But the old hero, still suffering from his many wounds, replied:

"No! I would run the same chance again."*

Four hundred feet farther along, at the corner of the Medford road, now Medford Street, stood the Cooper Tavern, Benjamin Cooper, landlord. He and his wife, Rachel, were mixing flip at the bar. Two of their guests, and possibly those two were all at the time, were Jason Winship, about forty-five years old, and his brother-in-law, Jabez Wyman,

* Statement of F. H. Whittemore. Smith's Address, pages 43, 44.

in his fortieth year.* Evidently they were non-combatants, and as such expected to remain unmolested. But the soldiers were lashed to a fury by the reception they had met along the road, particularly that of the last half mile. So many houses along back had concealed minute-men, that about all were freely riddled with bullets, then ransacked, and then set on fire. Cooper Tavern was not considered by them as a privileged exception. More than a hundred bullets were fired into it through the doors and windows. Then the soldiers entered for their finishing strokes. Mr. and Mrs. Cooper escaped to the cellar, but Wyman and Winship, both unarmed, were stabbed in many places, their heads mauled until their skulls were broken, and brains scattered about on the floor and walls.†

The death of these two unarmed men, formed the climax of Arlington's part of the battle, for Percy's troops passed through the rest of the town, and crossed Menotomy River into Cambridge without further bloody incident.

The Americans who were killed in Arlington, were Jason Russell, Jason Winship and Jabez Wyman of Arlington; Reuben Kennison, of Beverly; Samuel Cook, Benjamin Daland, Ebenezer Goldthwait, Henry Jacobs, Perley Putnam, George Southwick, and Jotham Webb, of Danvers; Elias Haven of Dedham; William Flint, Thomas Hadley, Abednego Ramsdell, and Daniel Townsend, of Lynn; William Polly and Henry Putnam, of Medford; Lieut. John Bacon, Nathaniel Chamberlain, Amos Mills, Sergt.

* Cutter's Arlington and Paige's Cambridge.
† Deposition of Rachel Cooper.

Elisha Mills, and Jonathan Parker of Needham; Benjamin Peirce of Salem; and Jacob Coolidge of Watertown. These numbered twenty-five, and constituted half of all the Americans killed during the day.

The wounded in Arlington were Samuel Whittemore, of Arlington; Nathaniel Cleaves, Samuel Woodbury, and William Dodge, 3rd, of Beverly; Nathan Putnam, and Dennison Wallace of Danvers; Israel Everett of Dedham; Eleazer Kingsbury, and a son of Dr. Tolman, of Needham. They numbered nine out of the thirty-nine Americans wounded during the day.

The British killed in Arlington were at least forty, more than half of all their loss during the day.

The patriot dead of old Menotomy and her sister towns were gathered, and twelve of them placed on a sled and drawn by a yoke of oxen to the little village church-yard. There they were laid away in one large grave, side by side, in the same bloody garments they wore when they fell. One monument marks the place. In the meeting-house close by, friends and relatives met on the following Sabbath, and, we are told that among them were Anna, infant grand-daughter of Jason Russell, born on the day of the battle, and the little son of Jason Winship, who was brought to the altar for baptism. It must have been a sacred and patriotic consecration for all.* Some of the other slain from distant towns, were borne by their comrades back to their own homes.†

In Arlington, then, as the casualties show,

* Smith's Address, page 52.

† King's Address, page 14.

the battle reached its climax. The savage ferocity of the personal encounters show to what a maddening frenzy the King's troops had been wrought. As in Lexington, Percy attempted the wholesale destruction of the American homes by the torch, but so closely had he been followed by the ever-increasing minute-men, that his efforts were futile. His soldiers had the time to start the fires, but not the time to fan them into conflagrations, and thus old Menotomy escaped the fate of Lexington.

Percy continued his march through the town of Arlington, crossing Menotomy River into Cambridge between five and six o'clock. The minute-men hovered dangerously near his rear guard so that he paused often long enough to wheel his two six-pounders about and prevent them from coming too near. They were entirely without fatal effect, but inspired at all times a wholesome respect, and kept the Americans farther away.

PERCY'S RETREAT THROUGH CAMBRIDGE.

Occasionally the contest narrowed down to personal encounters between two or more. It was near the Menotomy River, on the Cambridge side, that Lieut. Bowman, of Arlington, overtook a straggler from the British ranks, and engaged him in single combat. Both had guns, but neither one was loaded. The Briton rushed at Bowman with fixed bayonet, but the latter warded it off, and with his musket clubbed

his antagonist to the ground. Then he took him prisoner.*

Cambridge was the home of Capt. Samuel Thatcher's company of seventy-seven men, but it is probable that Smith had encountered them as far back as Lincoln, for the muster roll in the Massachusetts Archives states that most of them marched twenty-eight miles, which would mean up into Lincoln and return, and to Charlestown Neck and return.

Percy's march through Cambridge, from Menotomy River to the Somerville line, measured nearly a mile and a quarter. The provincials expected that he would return to Boston by the route he came out, that is through Harvard Square over Charles River bridge into Brighton, thence through Roxbury, and along Boston Neck and into Boston. Anticipating as much, it was ordered that the bridge should be made impassable. But Percy deemed it wise to hurry on to Charlestown, trusting that Gen. Gage would have an ample force there to receive and protect him. It was several miles nearer, and with no possibility of dismantled bridges to reconstruct, for his troops to pass over. Nor should it be forgotten that Percy's original plan was to remain that night, at least, in Harvard Square, but he had not counted on such intense hostility, from so large an army of minute-men in open rebellion. He deemed it wiser, therefore, to move constantly forward towards the main army.

This mile and a quarter in Cambridge proved to be one of continual battle, also. The Americans were ever on the alert, and growing

* Dr. B. Cutter's Statement in Smith's Address, page 47.

more and more active as they realized more and more the real meaning of the invasion. The sight of many of the British soldiers loaded down with plunder; the curling smoke and flames from American dwellings; the dying and the dead, some of them horribly mutilated, scattered all along the highway, were at last inspiring an intense feeling of hatred, and a longing for a satisfying vengeance. Percy's army experienced practically the same sensations. Trained as soldiers to the usages of open warfare, they deemed the frontier method of fighting as unfair and cowardly. They held in contempt the man who should remain concealed in safety and shoot down one who was compelled to remain in the open. Undoubtedly, too, the memory of a comrade, lying at the North Bridge with that ugly hatchet death-wound in the head, aroused the most savage instincts, that seemed to cry for brutal retaliation. Whittemore, and Wyman, and Winship seem to have been victims of vengeance rather than of war.

The Americans did not profit much by the lessons which they had received, earlier in the day, for they again fell victims to the British flankers. Quite a number had gathered near the home of Jacob Watson, situated on the southerly side of the highway near the present Rindge Avenue. Their fragile security was a pile of empty casks, not far from the road, from behind which they awaited the oncoming of the British. But the flank-guard came up in their rear, unobserved, and completely surprised them, killing Major Isaac Gardner of Brookline, a favorite son of that town, and the

first graduate of Harvard College to fall in the War, and two Cambridge men, John Hicks, nearly fifty years old, and Moses Richardson, fifty-three years old. And near the same place, another Cambridge man, William Marcy, as tradition says * of feeble intellect, and a non-combatant. He was sitting on the fence, evidently enjoying the military spectacle, and perhaps good-naturedly cheering on the marching red-coats. His friendly demonstrations were entirely mistaken for shouts of derision. In the midst of his simple pleasure, some Briton esteemed it his duty to kill him as an enemy of the King.

The British loss at this place was but one killed.

On they marched, wheeling to the left, into Beech Street, a thoroughfare about seven hundred feet long, and thence out of Cambridge and into Somerville.

Soon after this, the wife of John Hicks, whose home is still standing (1912) at the corner of Dusnster and Winthrop Streets, fearing for his safety, sent her son, fourteen years of age, to look for him. He had been absent since morning, and undoubtedly the noise of battle, a mile and a quarter away, coming across the fields, bore a sad burden of prophecy. Her misgivings were well founded, for the son found his father by the roadside where he fell, and near him the others.

The body of Isaac Gardner was taken to Brookline and there buried the next day. The remains of John Hicks, Moses Richardson and

* Paige's History of Cambridge, page 414.

William Marcy, were immediately taken to the little churchyard near the Common, a mile from where they fell. They were buried in one grave, without coffins or shrouds even. A son of Moses Richardson, standing by, realizing that the earth was to fall directly on their faces, jumped down into the grave and arranged the cape of his father's coat, that it might shield him somewhat from the falling earth.

We may wonder now, at that hasty burial, without much, if any, ceremony; but let us associate with it the trail of the invading army, and of what seemed possible for the morrow, if it should return, greatly reinforced, for vengeance. Boston was not far away, and Gen. Gage, even then, might be preparing to move on Cambridge, with a force sufficiently large for its subjection. The Americans did not fully realize their own power or their own courage, not even as well as Gen. Gage did, who wisely decreed to remain in Boston and Charlestown, and decide later whether to pursue an aggressive or a defensive campaign. The spontaneous rousing of the country was an impressive one to the British commander.

It had evidently been Percy's plan to camp on Cambridge Common that night, and while awaiting expected reinforcements, or upon their arrival, lay the buildings of Harvard College, and others, in ruins. Such a course would have been in harmony with his warfare in Lexington and Arlington, and serve as a practical lesson to those in rebellion, of the disposition and readiness of their King to wreak a swift and

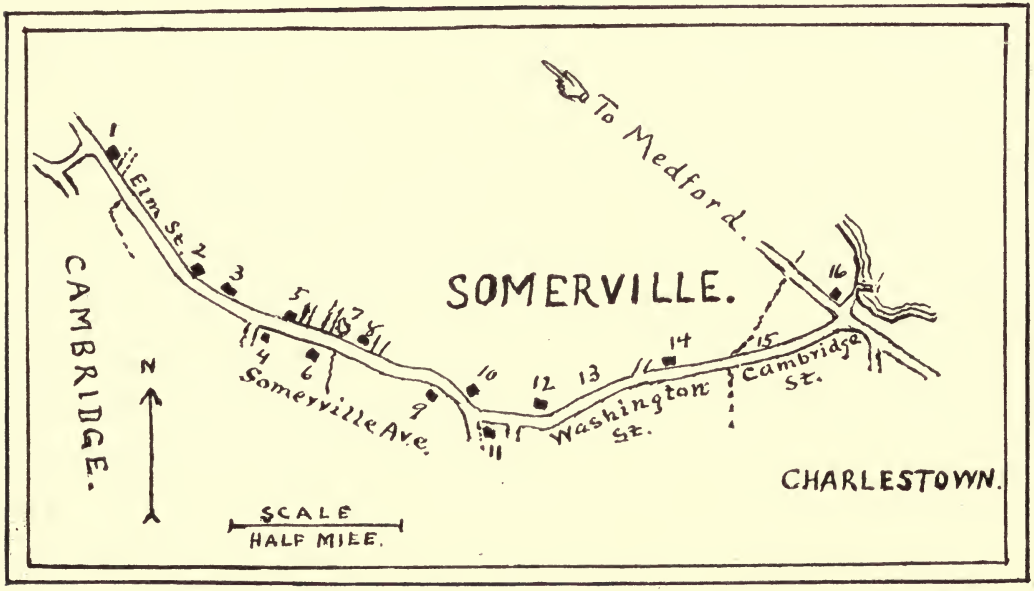
terrible vengeance upon his enemies.* But Percy's plans were rudely disarranged, and he commenced to realize that he was really being driven back to Boston.

PERCY'S RETREAT THROUGH SOMERVILLE.

It was about half past six o'clock when Percy left Cambridge and entered the present city of Somerville, crossing the line at the corner of Beech and Elm Streets. Just about at the Somerville line the battle was hotly renewed. Near the corner of Beech Street, and on the easterly side of Elm Street, stood, and still stands (1912), the house of Timothy Tufts. Here Percy halted his army while his two field-pieces were dragged up the hill back of the Tufts house and discharged towards his pursuers, with the usual result of his cannonading — none killed. From out a grove a little way up the road, came a scattering fire of American sharpshooters and in consequence quite a number of Britons were killed. They fell in the road, just in front of the Tufts house, and a tablet there marks where they were buried.

Along Elm Street to Oak Street, and then continuing in Somerville Avenue, was their route, when the march was resumed. At the foot of Laurel Street on Somerville Avenue was then a little pond. Into that many weary

* See Thanksgiving Sermon in the Camp at Roxbury, Nov. 23, 1775, by Rev. Isaac Mansfield, Jr., Chaplain to Gen. Thomas's Regiment. Mr. Mansfield fully believed such plans to have been made and states that his information came so direct that he could not hesitate to accept it but did not feel at liberty to publish the name of his informer.



1. Tufts. 2. Hunnewell. 3. Capen. 4. Kent. 5. Rand. 6. Tufts. 7. A pond. 8. Ireland. 9. Frost. 10. Choate. 11. Piper's Tavern. 12. Shed. 13. Miller Killed. 14. Miller's Home 15. Revere Stopped by British. 16. Barber.

Britons threw themselves — some for the refreshing plunge, others to quench their thirst.*

Their march was continued rapidly now, and in consequence the fatalities on the American side were slight, if any, on the road from the Tufts house through Bow Street, for that was a part of Battle Road then, to Union Square. From the latter place they continued through Washington Street, where the American sharpshooters had a grand opportunity to renew their havoc. Washington Street skirts along the westerly foot of Prospect Hill, the summit of which commands easily a stretch of highway for more than half a mile. Many were killed and wounded, some of the latter of whom were taken into the house then standing at the corner of Washington and Prospect Streets. Here Percy paused long enough to train his two field pieces up the road, and again with his usual lack of fatal results. But he checked the Americans.

A little way farther along on the northerly side of the road, stood the home of Samuel Shed. Percy's troops halted there, for the few moments necessary to turn his field pieces on his pursuers again. While there one of the Britons, ambitious for plunder, entered the Shed home, and finding there a bureau or highboy filled with household effects, commenced the work of selecting what he desired. It took him too long, for his companions passed on, and left him still too busy to notice their departure or the coming of the Americans. Bullets came through the window, one of which killed him,

* Booth, in Somerville Journal. April, 1875.

and three riddled the old bureau, spattering his blood over it, and on the floor.*

A few rods farther, the grassy slope of Prospect Hill descended in a southerly direction to Washington Street, then called the Cambridge Road. James Miller, about sixty-six years old, stood there awaiting the British. With him was a companion, and both fired with deadly effect, again and again, as the British marched by in the road below. They were discovered finally, and Miller's companion urged him to retreat.

"Come, Miller, we've got to go."

"I'm too old to run," replied Miller, and he remained only to be pierced with a volley of thirteen bullets.† His home was but a short distance down the road, and is still standing, next to the house on the easterly corner of Washington and Franklin Streets.

Miller was the only American killed in Somerville, as the British were in too full retreat to act very much on the aggressive. Their loss was considerable, however, and along the entire Battle Road, for the minute-men were exceedingly active in the rear and on the northerly side of the road, particularly.

The policy of property destruction was continued by Percy through Somerville. The limited time at his command did not allow of very thorough work, but he accomplished something. The estate of James Miller whom they killed on the slope of Prospect Hill, was dam-

* The old highboy was in existence in 1910 and treasured by a Somerville man, Francis Tufts, to whom it descended. I have seen it, with its blood stains and three bullet holes.

† E. C. Booth in an article on Somerville in Drake's History of Middlesex County, Vol. 2, page 312.

aged to the extent of £4, 12 s. ($23.00). Ebenezer Shed lost his house, barn, and another building, valued at £140 ($700), and the damage to his crop, fences, etc., he estimated at £279, 3 s, 2 d. ($1395.79). The widow of Abigal Shed suffered to some extent in the same way.*

PERCY'S ARRIVAL IN CHARLESTOWN.

The sun set at seven o'clock on that nineteenth day of April, in 1775.† It never rose again on Middlesex County under kingly rule. Percy must have been in the vicinity of Union Square, Somerville, at that particular moment. The pauses for his artillery demonstration; the destruction of the few buildings; the killing of Miller; and the hurried march to the Charlestown line, did not occupy more than half an hour. It was just dark enough for the musket flashes to be seen across the marshes and across the waters of the Charles River to the Boston shore, where were grouped anxious watchers awaiting the news of battle.

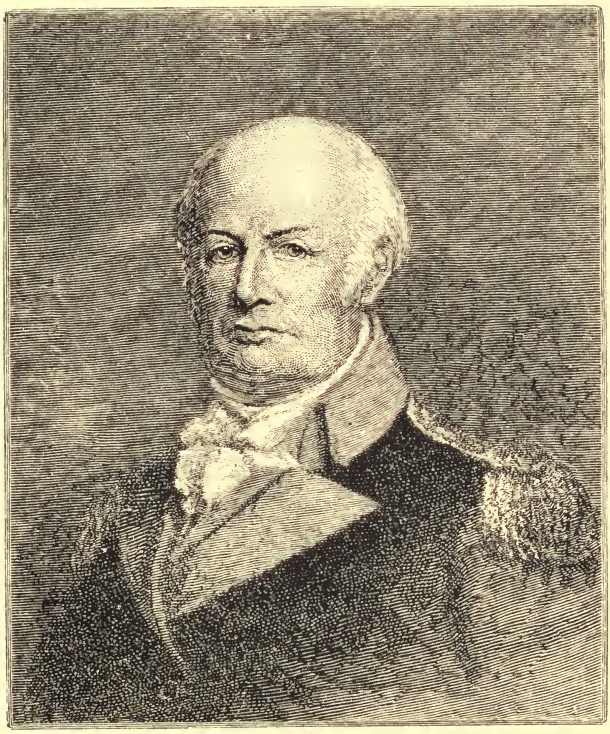
Percy's thirty-six rounds for each of his soldiers had been about all expended. He describes the fire all around his marching column as "incessant," coming from behind stone walls, and from houses that he at first supposed had been evacuated.‡

Charlestown Common, now Sullivan Square, was soon reached, and his column gladly wheeled to the right and marched up Bunker

* J. F. Hunnewell, A Century of Town Life, page 153.

† Low's Almanack, Boston, 1775.

‡ See his report to Gen. Gage.



GENERAL WILLIAM HEATH.

Hill. As they did so, a mile away, on top of Winter Hill, in Somerville, were just then arriving three hundred more Americans, who had marched from Salem under Col. Timothy Pickering. They were half an hour late to be particularly effective. No blame can be attached to them for that, for there were thousands of other minute-men, from distant towns who were also late, for April 19th, but who were in ample time to join the besieging army on April 20th.

At Charlestown Common, on the corner of the road to the Penny Ferry which crossed the Mystic River to Everett,* stood the home of William Barber, sea captain. His family consisted of his wife, Anne Hay, and their thirteen children. One of them, Edward, fourteen years old, sat at the window looking out upon the brilliant pageant of marching soldiers in the road. Many of the soldiers must have seen him, for he was not in hiding. One did, at all events, and with that thirst for killing some one, even though but a boy, shot him and saw him fall back into the room dead. Thus Edward Barber became Charlestown's martyr of April 19th.

While Charlestown did not officially contribute to the organized minute-men who were pursuing Percy, yet many individuals must have been in the American ranks on that day, for in the afternoon Gen. Gage wrote to James Russell of Charlestown that he had been informed people of that town had gone out armed to oppose His Majesty's Troops, and that if a single man more went out armed, the most disagreeable consequences might be expected.

* Everett was then a part of Malden.

The people of Charlestown indeed had reason to be in terror, surrounded as they were by the soldiers, frenzied with their disastrous retreat from Lexington. The Selectmen arranged with Percy an armistice, agreeing that the troops should not be attacked, and that assistance should be given in getting them across the ferry to Boston, provided they would not attack the citizens or destroy their homes. This agreement seems to have been kept in good faith by both parties.* British officers walked up and down the streets, directing the women to keep within doors.

Percy's force remained on Bunker Hill until arrangements were completed for their trip across the Charles River to Boston. The wounded were sent over first, being conveyed by the boats of the *Somerset* man-of-war, which still lay there, as it did when Revere crossed the night before.

Gen. Gage sent pickets from Boston, selected from the Tenth and Sixty-fourth Regiments to do guard duty in Charlestown.†

Gen. William Heath, as commander of the American forces, assembled the officers of the minute-men at the foot of Prospect Hill, in Somerville, for a Council of War. Then he ordered the formation of a guard to be posted near, and sentinels along the road now known as Washington Street in Somerville, and Cambridge Street in Charlestown, to Charlestown Neck. The remainder of the force was ordered back to Cambridge,‡ which place was to be for a while the Headquarters of the American Army.

* De Bernicre's Report.

† De Bernicre, and Diary of a British Officer in Boston in 1775.

‡ Heath's Memoirs.

AMERICAN KILLED, WOUNDED AND MISSING.

Acton. Killed: Capt. Isaac Davis, James Hayward, Abner Hosmer. Wounded: Luther Blanchard and Ezekiel Davis.

Arlington. Killed: Jason Russell, Jason Winship, Jabez Wyman. Wounded: Samuel Whittemore.

Bedford. Killed: Captain Jonathan Willson. Wounded: Job Lane.

Beverly. Killed: Reuben Kennison. Wounded: Nathaniel Cleaves, William Dodge, 3rd, Samuel Woodbury.

Billerica. Wounded: Timothy Blanchard, John Nichols.

Brookline. Killed: Major Isaac Gardner.

Cambridge. Killed: John Hicks, William Marcy, Moses Richardson. Missing: Samuel Frost, Seth Russell.

Concord. Wounded: Capt. Nathan Barrett, Jonas Brown, Capt. Charles Miles, Capt. George Minot, Abel Prescott, Jr.

Charlestown. Killed: Edward Barber.

Chelmsford. Wounded: Oliver Barron, Aaron Chamberlain.

Danvers. Killed: Samuel Cook, Benjamin Daland, Ebenezer Goldthwait, Henry Jacobs, Perley Putnam, George Southwick, Jotham Webb. Wounded: Nathan Putnam, Dennison Wallis. Missing: Joseph Bell.

Dedham. Killed: Elias Haven. Wounded: Israel Everett.

Framingham. Wounded: Daniel Hemenway.

Lexington. Killed: John Brown, Samuel Hadley, Caleb Harrington, Jonathan Harrington, Jr., Jedediah Munroe, Robert Munroe, Isaac Muzzy, Jonas Parker, John Raymond, Nathaniel Wyman. Wounded: Francis Brown, Joseph Comee, Prince Estabrook, Nathaniel Farmer, Ebenezer Munroe, Jr., Jedediah Munroe (killed later), Solomon Pierce, John Robbins, John Tidd, Thomas Winship.

Lincoln. Wounded: Joshua Brooks.

Lynn. Killed: William Flint, Thomas Hadley, Abednego Ramsdell, Daniel Townsend. Wounded: Joshua Felt, Timothy Monroe. Missing: Josiah Breed.

Medford. Killed: William Polly, Henry Putnam.

Needham. Killed: Lieut. John Bacon, Nathaniel Chamberlain, Amos Mills, Sergt. Elisha Mills, Jonathan Parker. Wounded: Eleazer Kingsbury,——— Tolman (son of Dr. Tolman).

Newton. Wounded: Noah Wiswell.

Roxbury. Missing: Elijah Seaver.

Salem. Killed: Benjamin Pierce.

Somerville. Killed: James Miller.

Sudbury. Killed: Josiah Haynes, Asahel Reed. Wounded: Joshua Haynes, Jr.

Stow. Wounded: Daniel Conant.

Watertown. Killed: Joseph Coolidge.

Woburn. Killed: Asahel Porter, Daniel Thompson. Wounded: Jacob Bacon, ——— Johnson, George Reed.

Totals. Killed: 49. Wounded: 41. Missing: 5. Total loss: 95.

BRITISH KILLED, WOUNDED, PRISONERS AND MISSING.*

"Return of the Commission, Non-Commission Officers, Drummers, Rank and File, killed and wounded, prisoners and missing, on the 19th of April, 1775.

"4th or King's Own Regiment, Lieutenant Knight, killed. Lieutenant Gould, wounded and prisoner. 3 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, wounded. 7 Rank and File, killed, 21 wounded, 8 missing.

"5th Regiment, Lieutenant Thomas Baker, Lieutenant William Cox, Lieutenant Thomas Hawkshaw, wounded. 5 Rank and File killed. 15 wounded, 1 missing.

"10th Regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Francis Smith, Captain Lawrence Parsons, Lieutenant Wald. Kelly, Ensign Jeremiah Lester, wounded. 1 Rank and File killed, 13 wounded, 1 missing.

"18th Regiment. 1 Rank and File killed, 4 wounded, 1 missing.

"23rd Regiment. Lieutenant Colonel Bery Bernard, wounded. 4 Rank and File killed, 26 wounded, 6 missing.

"38th Regiment. Lieutenant William Sutherland, wounded. 1 Sergeant wounded. 4 Rank and File killed, 11 wounded.

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* I am under obligations to the Military Secretary of the English War Office for a copy of the official returns of Gen Gage of his losses on April 19, 1775, accompanied by the following:

"WAR OFFICE

"The Military Secretary begs to inform Mr. Frank W. Coburn with reference to his letter of the 27th November last, addressed to the late Commander in Chief, that the only information available on the subject of the casualties sustained by the British Troops during the action at Lexington on 19th April, 1775, is contained in the Lords' Gazette of 6-10 June, 1775, an extract of which is enclosed.

"MR. FRANK W. COBURN, "Lexington, Massachusetts."

"WAR OFFICE, "25th Sept., 1901."

"43rd Regiment. Lieutenant Hull, wounded and prisoner. 4 Rank and File killed, 5 wounded, 2 missing.

"47th Regiment. Lieutenant Donald McCloud, Ensign Henry Baldwin, wounded. 1 Sergeant wounded. 5 Rank and File killed, 21 wounded.

"52nd Regiment. 1 Sergeant missing. 3 Rank and File killed, 2 wounded.

"59th Regiment. 3 Rank and File killed, 3 wounded.

"Marines. Captain Souter, Second Lieutenant McDonald, wounded. Second Lieutenant Isaac Potter, missing. 1 Sergeant killed, 2 wounded, 1 missing. 1 Drummer killed. 25 Rank and File killed, 36 wounded, 5 missing.

"Total. 1 Lieutenant killed. 2 Lieutenant Colonels wounded. 2 Captains wounded. 9 Lieutenants wounded. 1 Lieutenant missing. 2 Ensigns wounded. 1 Sergeant killed, 7 wounded, 2 missing. 1 Drummer killed. 1 wounded. 62 Rank and File killed, 157 wounded, 24 missing.

"N. B. Lieutenant Isaac Potter reported to be wounded and taken prisoner.

"Signed

"THO. GAGE."

Lieut. Hull, of the 43rd Regiment, wounded traveling in a chaise, fell behind the troops, again wounded, and carried into the house of Samuel Butterfield, in Arlington, where he died, two weeks later.*

The forces participating were about eighteen

* Smith's West Cambridge Address.

hundred British, well organized and well commanded, opposed by about thirty-seven hundred and sixty Americans, without effective organization and without a real commanding officer.

DISTANCES MARCHED BY THE BRITISH SOLDIERS.

I have measured the routes of the various detachments and am enabled to give them as follows, in each case of Smith's force from the shore of Charles River in Cambridge, out to Concord and back to the shore of Charles River in Charlestown. The route of Percy's force was from School Street, Boston, out through Roxbury, etc., to the High School in Lexington, and return to the shore of Charles River, in Charlestown. My cyclometer is divided into eighty-eight fractions of a mile, each one of sixty feet.

Three companies under Capt. Lawrence Parsons to the home of Col. Barrett, beyond North Bridge, Concord, $39\frac{71}{88}$ miles.

Three companies under Capt. Walter Sloane Lawrie to the North Bridge, Concord, $36\frac{11}{88}$ miles.

Force of about one hundred men under Capt. Mundy Pole, to the South Bridge, Concord, $36\frac{40}{88}$ mile.

Main division under Lieut.-Col. Smith, to Concord village, $34\frac{55}{88}$ miles.

Earl Percy's reinforcement, to the High School in Lexington, $25\frac{70\frac{1}{2}}{88}$ miles.

That of his baggage train captured and destroyed in Arlington, $11\frac{39\frac{1}{2}}{88}$ miles.

ENGLISH FRIENDS AFTER THE BATTLE.

As in the beginning of this little history we gratefully chronicled the warm and sympathetic friendship for America that permeated the British nation, and particularly the councils of Parliament, so as we close, we may glance across the ocean again to see if that same friendship can survive the shock of rebellion against the King. In quarrels of a family nature one does not feel unpatriotic if he happens to espouse the cause of the minority. So it was with John Horne Tooke.* His intense friendship for this part of the British Kingdom was evident at the start and reached a decided climax after the battle. He was a member of the Constitutional Society, and during an adjournment or recess of a meeting held June 7th proposed that a subscription should be immediately entered into "for raising the sum of one hundred pounds, to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents, of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the King's troops at or near Lexington and Concord." The money was raised and placed at the disposal of Benjamin Franklin, to distribute in accordance with its purpose. The resolution was forwarded to several newspapers, and its publication naturally aroused considerable surprise and painful comment.

Mr. Horne was arrested and tried for "a

* At that time his name was simply John Horne.

false, wicked, malicious, scandalous and seditious libel of, and concerning, his said Majesty's government, and the employment of his troops," etc.* He was found guilty and sentenced to a fine of £200; to be imprisoned for twelve months; and that he find securities in £800 for his good behavior, for three years.†

I have not read of any other Briton punished to that extent at that time, for friendship for his fellow subjects on this side of the ocean. There were many as sincere and devoted to the cause of the colonists as Horne, and perhaps as openly, too, but he happened to be the one selected to bear the heavy burden of his King's displeasure.

On a much larger and more impressive scale was the petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled. It was presented in October, and recited how that body had "taken into the most serious consideration the present distressed situation of our fellow subjects in America," and concluded with the prayer that the House would be "pleased to adopt such measures for the healing of the present unhappy disputes between the mother country and the colonies, as may be speedy, permanent and honourable."

But the wise counsels of the great city did not prevail in the House of Parliament, for that

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* "The Battle of Lexington as looked at in London before Chief Justice Mansfield and a jury in the Trial of John Horne, Esq. By John Winslow."

† See Memoirs of John Horne Tooke, by Alexander Stephens, London, 1813. Vol. I, page 431, etc.

body simply ordered their petition to "lie upon the table."*

So was fought the opening battle of the American Revolution, the beginning of that long struggle which rent in twain the great English nation, and gave birth to these United States.

* Parliamentary History of England, XVIII, column 698.

END.

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